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## LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA

AT THE TIME OF

### THE JATAKA STORIES<sup>1</sup>

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY MR. N. S. SUBBA RAO, B.A. (Cantab.)

THE Jataka book consists of 547 stories of varying length, professing to have been related by the Buddha about his previous births in order to illustrate and moralize upon some incidents of his own time. 'Each story opens with a preface, called the paccuppannavatthu, or story of the present, which relates the particular circumstances in the Buddha's life which led him to tell the birth-story and thus reveal some event in the long series of his previous existences. . . . At the end there is always given a short summary, where the Buddha identifies the different actors in the story in their present births at the time of his discourse'.<sup>2</sup> The collection

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based upon an essay on *The political and economic conditions of ancient India, as described in the Jatakas*, which obtained the Le Bas prize at Cambridge University last summer. As the essay is going to be published shortly, no references are given to the various stories from which the information has been drawn. The extracts, except when otherwise stated, are from the Cambridge translation of the Jataka book.

<sup>2</sup> Cowell, *Preface to the Cambridge translation*, vii.

is believed to have been put into the form in which we now possess it in the fifth century after Christ. While considerable doubt is expressed with regard to the credibility of the quasi-historical introductions which always precede the different birth-stories, there is general agreement as to the valuable character of the information about the life and manners of the people of India contained in the 'Stories of the past'. These are far older than the collection of which they form a part and a number of them have been illustrated in the bas-reliefs of the third century B.C. 'How far our unknown author has varied from the traditions handed down to him, and how far that tradition has, with respect at least to the historical inferences suggested by it, preserved the tone and character of that much more ancient date<sup>1</sup> are questions of vital importance to the results of the present paper. Competent scholars like Fick and Bühler are of opinion that the stories themselves, as distinct from the framework, have been scarcely altered from the state in which they were when they were handed down among the early Buddhists', and that 'there are remarkably few traces of Buddhism in those stories, and they do not describe the condition of India in the third or fourth century B.C., but an older one'.<sup>2</sup>

The scene of the stories is mostly laid in the kingdoms to the north-east of India, but others are also sometimes mentioned, which gives us a fair idea of the political geography of the time. In the north-west were the kingdoms of Gandhara with its capital Takshasila, famous as a seat of learning, Kashmir, Sivi, Madra, on the other side of which lay the savage hordes of Kambhoja, noted for their horsemanship. In the central region lay the lands of the famous Kurus and Panchalas, the Matsyas and the Surasenas. To the south of these dwelt the Vatsas, the Avantis and the Assakas. Along the northern part of the western coast were the kingdoms of Sovira and Bharu with its famous seaport Bharukaccha (the modern Broach), while the corresponding kingdom in the east was Kalinga. In the north-east, Kasi was yet an independent kingdom, attacking and being attacked by Kosala; in their neighbourhood lay the rival kingdoms of Magadha and Anga. The only southern kingdoms mentioned are Andhra, and Damila with its capital Kavirapattana. A number of clans, like the Mallas and the Sakiyas, complete the list, and it is interesting to note they were oligarchic republics. But monarchy was the usual form of government and the Jataka stories are full of the rivalries of kings, their alliances and their wars.

A king lived in great splendour in his capital-city, which consisted of a fortified portion in the midst of a number of suburbs, which served

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 201 (with verbal alterations).

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, quoted by Rhys Davids, p. 202.

as centres of trade, or as residence for the poor and the outcast. The fortifications consisted of a wall or walls, protected by a series of moats. Huge gates led into the citadel, and were often arched, and surmounted with watch-towers. Within the citadel, the streets ran at right angles, and there were squares, where people assembled to see a criminal punished, or to hear the royal proclamations. The different classes and trades lived in special quarters of the city. Houses opened, as a rule, directly into the streets, and narrow lanes ran between them in the rear. A river close by, or a tank within or without the walls, supplied the city with water, which was brought to cisterns near houses by means of conduits or fetched home in pots. In the centre of the citadel stood the seven-storyed palace of the king, which was often adorned with towers and pinnacles. Great staircases led to the various stories, and there was a courtyard into which the cow pen, the granary, and the treasure room opened. There was a terrace in front of each story, which overlooked the yard and the streets. The terrace and courtyard were sometimes used as presence halls. A feature of interest was the gambling room, furnished with silver tables and golden dice, where the king played with any challenger.

The insignia of royalty were the sword, umbrella, diadem, slipper and fan, in connexion with which there were officers-of-honour like the keeper-of-the-umbrella and the sword-bearer. There were also a state charger, a state elephant and a state chariot. The king frequently went in procession round the city attended by a vast retinue, and the city was decorated for the occasion. He amused himself with hunting in the forest, or shooting at a mark in the garden, and sometimes joined with the people to witness an exhibition of snake-charming.

The king of the Jatakas is a despot, but like other despots, he often met with a limited readiness on the part of his subjects 'to obey his behests', (Dicey), and he had to reckon with 'public opinion'. There were often imperative public wants which he had to meet, and 'chaotic outbreaks' of the government-making power (Seeley) occurred against an unpopular king. A king who was ungrateful to his teacher was stoned to death by the indignant people, even as a king who attempted by unfair means to test the skill of a track-finder. When a king attempted to sacrifice his son and the important merchants of his realm in order that he might go to the abode of the gods, these were saved by the intervention of Sakra, and the people beat the priest to death, and were with difficulty restrained from putting the king also to death. They decided, however, not to allow him to continue to rule or dwell in the city, but made an outcast of him, and appointed his dwelling outside the city and gave the crown to his son. A king who had developed cannibalish tastes was expelled from the kingdom, without being suffered to say

a word, and even when he returned chastened and subdued, at first they did not allow him to enter the city and hastily closed the gates. It was with great reluctance that they were eventually prevailed upon to receive him back. The Vessantara Jataka provides us with an excellent example of how people were roused under a sense of common danger and their will prevailed with the king. The son of the king of Sivi gave away his 'glorious elephant all white' to a king who begged for it, because his land was suffering from drought and 'wherever this elephant went there rain fell'. Now this was not well done in the sight of the Sivi folk. They demanded that Vessantara should be banished from the kingdom, and threatened that if the king refused to do the bidding of the Sivi folk, they would rise against him and his son. The king bowed to the people's will and could not gainsay it. The queen begged the king not to banish her innocent son because the people cried. But the king felt, that in sending his son to drear exile, he was but obeying his royal duty. On his way to the place appointed for exile, Vessantara passed through the land of the Cetis, who offered to remonstrate with the king, but Vessantara told them that his father was not king in this affair and had no power. A 'public want' for the satisfaction of which 'public opinion' put pressure on the king was an heir to the throne. Famines also made the voice of the people articulate. People under the stress of famine gathered in the palace-yard and reproached the king and asked him to cause the rain to fall; for it was their belief that it was the king's want of righteousness that caused the drought. He was asked to give alms, and keep the holy day and follow various other observances which would cause rain to fall, and he did so.

The throne was usually hereditary, and on the death or abdication of a king, the eldest son of the queen-consort, or the nearest male succeeded to it. An heir was prepared for his future destiny by being sent for education in his sixteenth year to a teacher in the capital, or preferably to a distant place like Takshasila, so that he might learn to quell his pride, and to endure heat and cold; and on finishing education he would wander through town and village before returning home, in order to be acquainted with the ways of the world. On arrival, he was made Uparaja and took some share in ruling the kingdom. The normal life of the heir-apparent was that 'he amused himself as prince, ruled as viceroy, and reigned as king'. But it often happened that he became impatient and attempted to force the pace of events, and it is not surprising to read that kings became suspicious of their sons and had them kept in a secret place and gave orders that at their death they were to be brought back and set upon the throne, or banished them from the kingdom to return only to occupy the vacant throne.

It was not often that the heir-apparent was set aside. But extreme

youth was sometimes felt to be a disadvantage and heirs were set aside, because they were wicked and unworthy. There are sufficiently numerous instances to show that though there was nothing like a resort to election, heredity was not always binding, and strangers—not always of the Kshatriya caste—could be placed on the throne by the general consent of the people. Sometimes, when a kingdom lacked an heir, the people had recourse to a very interesting practice known as the ‘festal-car-ceremony’. The family priest performed the funeral rites, and ‘proclamation was made through the city that on the morrow the festal car would be prepared. The next day having decorated the city and yoked four lotus-coloured horses to the festive chariot, and spread a coverlet over them and fixed the five ensigns of royalty, they surrounded the car with an army of four hosts. . . . The family priest having bid them sound the musical instruments behind . . . bade the chariot proceed to him who had merit sufficient to rule the kingdom. The car went solemnly round the palace and proceeded up the kettle-drum road . . . and having gone solemnly round the city, it went out by the eastern gate and passed onwards to the park’. The ‘ceremonial stone’ (royal bench) in the park was the conventional place where the future king was found sleeping, having arrived that very day from afar off. He was roused by the sounding of the musical instruments and taken to the palace for consecration. The consecration ceremony consisted of seating the future king on a ‘fine chair of fig-wood’ or ‘a heap of jewels’ and sprinkling him from a conch with the right-wise spiral.

The king took an active part in the government of the kingdom. As the protector of the people, he led the army in battle, though there was a commander-in-chief in charge of the army. As the supreme head of the executive, he made and unmade appointments, but the hereditary character of offices gave few opportunities for making appointments. And he often sat in the judgement hall and heard causes. But there had grown up a large number of officials, both central and local. The unit of administration was the village. The village of the stories was of the ‘ryotwary type’, i.e. ‘that type in which the separate holders, whatever spirit of union they may have possessed, never represented co-sharers in a unit estate or acknowledged any form of common ownership’.<sup>1</sup> The business of the village was carried on by the heads of the houses and the king was represented by the *headman*, who collected the royal revenue and exercised small magisterial powers and various duties of police and protection.

The police arrangements of the capital were under the charge of an officer called Nagaraguttika, whose duty it was to guard the city, especially

<sup>1</sup> Baden-Powell, *The Indian village community*, p. 6.

during the night, to run in thieves and carry out sentences of punishment. On nightfall the gates of the city were closed by the keepers who called out three times before doing so, and the city guards patrolled the streets.

The border where a part of the royal army was stationed, presented special problems of its own. Oriental monarchies have always manifested 'despotism in the centre and weakness in the extremities' (Gibbon), and the kingdoms of the stories form no exception. The border was frequently in a state of disturbance; sometimes it was attacked by an enemy, or a revolt was engineered by an impatient heir, while, not infrequently, robbers from the mountains came down on the villages and plundered the inhabitants, in addition to which they carried off prisoners to be sold as slaves.

When the king did not himself sit in court, some one or more of the ministers heard the causes, and there was not as yet a specialization of judicial functions, for there was no code of laws<sup>1</sup> whose knowledge was essential, and the judge was guided by 'equity and good conscience'. There is not much information about the procedure, but we know that witnesses were produced and statements made on oath. Bribe-taking and perjury had made their appearance. The court was attended by others than parties to a suit and applause was not 'suppressed'. Punishments were cruel and harsh; criminals were impaled alive, and even when life was spared, were liable to have the hands and feet or nose and ears cut off, or the eyes plucked out.

The sources of royal revenue were land, trade, and administration of justice. The king claimed a share in the annual produce of land, which was frequently surveyed for the purpose. The tax was paid in kind, and the crop could not be gathered before the king's portion was assessed. Duties were levied on goods on entering and leaving a town and the administration of justice brought in fines. Other sources of revenue were the forests, whose produce was very valuable, prerogative rights, such as escheat and the right to treasure trove; and forced labour was occasionally resorted to. The administration of revenue was controlled by an officer, called the treasurer, who is represented as sitting at a counter or board, where he received the taxes brought in by village head-men and by collectors sent from the capital.

Out of this revenue the king's establishment was maintained, and his charities financed, and the various services met, but a good many of the officers were endowed with revenue villages. Exorbitant amounts were

<sup>1</sup> There is a mention of a 'book of judgements' (Jat. iii. 29), and 'righteous judgement inscribed on a golden plate' (J. ii. 125), but one is inclined to follow Fick when he says, that in both places where they are mentioned, there is no connection with the narrative, and that they are probably later additions. (*Soziale Gliederung in Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*; note on p. 67).

frequently exacted and people underwent great suffering. It was not seldom that a king crushed the folk 'as if they were sugar-cane in mill, with fines and taxes'. Things became so intolerable that people 'unable to pay the oppressive tax would flee from village and town and take refuge on the borders of the realm', and we read of a king whose 'subjects being oppressed by taxation took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts. Where once stood villages, there were none now, and the people, through the fear of the king's men by day, did not venture to dwell in their houses; but fencing them about with thorn branches, as soon as the day broke, they disappeared into the forest, and returned at eventide when the king's men had departed. By day they were plundered by the king's men and by night by robbers'.

The revenues of the king depended on the occupations of the people and the wealth they amassed. Wealth consisted in silver, gold, and household goods, slaves, horses, cattle, fields and stores of grain, and industrial capital except in the shape of tools had not as yet arisen. We read that 'people lived by merchandise, by herds, or by the plough', and usury and skilled professions are added to the list elsewhere. Land was to be had for the mere trouble of clearing the wild growth and was being gradually brought under cultivation. The average holding was of a comparative small size for which the labour of the farmer and his family sufficed, but larger farms of 1,000 karisas were not unknown, and were cultivated by their owners with the aid of hired labour. Rice, beans, sugar-cane, cotton and oil-seeds were the common crops, and cultivation was carried on practically as it is to-day. A supply of water was sometimes obtained by throwing a dam across a river and the fields were irrigated by men going 'with spades and baskets in hand to bank up the dykes' and build 'little embanked squares for water'. In order to protect the crop against deer and birds, pitfalls were dug and snares laid, and watchers were hired to live on the field in a hut, day and night, and their watchfulness was ensured by making them responsible for any loss.

An allied industry was breeding and rearing live stock. Cattle were a highly esteemed form of wealth, but there was no breeding for the butcher's knife, but only for the plough. The cattle were grazed in the pasture adjoining a village, and, when the crops were standing, were taken to the forests by a neatherd and grazed there during the day and kept in a shieling at night. Horses and dogs were bred for quality for the use of kings and nobles.

But agriculture was menaced by droughts, for the rains were periodic and were liable to fail, and did often fail. That droughts and famines were matters of familiar experience is shown by the following realistic details. 'There was a drought in the land; the country became, as it were, scorched up; water gave out in tank and in pool, and the fishes



and the tortoises buried themselves in the mud. The crows and other birds flocking to the spot picked them out with their beaks and devoured them. Sore distress fell upon all beasts. The crop withered, and the corn grew not. The people feared that lack of food might produce a pestilence, and wandered about destitute hither and thither, leading their children by the hand. Men being unable to live resorted to robbery'.

Mining must have been undertaken extensively, for common metals like iron and copper could hardly have been imported. India must have also produced considerable quantities of gold and silver, but the only reference to mining is in a simile.<sup>1</sup>

All classes consumed meat and fish, and men made a living by hunting deer and such animals, and selling the flesh, even as fowlers caught and sold birds. Fishing was a sufficiently large occupation as to lead to a differentiation between line and net fishermen.

A very large group of occupations is that of handicrafts. The goldsmiths made all manner of ornaments for men and animals. The arts of inlaying and relief-work were known and mirrors were made by giving a fine polish to the surface of gold. Smiths supplied agriculture with ploughshares and spades, and households with pots and pans. Iron was converted into steel and made into weapons of fighting such as arrows, javelins and axes. Some delicate work was also done in the shape of fine needles and strings for musical instruments.

India has always been noted for its textiles, and in the stories Benares, Gandhara and Sivi are famous for the excellence of their silks. Silk cloths were sometimes embroidered with gold, and cloths of gold were made for elephants. The garments of the bulk of the people were made of cotton and woollen clothes, rugs and blankets are also mentioned. Dyeing was practised with vegetable ingredients, and scarlet seems to have been the favourite colour.

The building trade was fairly advanced. Masons were employed to lay the foundations of buildings and to construct bathing ghats and flights of steps to rivers and tanks. The superstructure of most houses was of wood and furnished occupation for carpenters, who also built chariots and ships. The outer walls of palaces and houses of nobles were colour-washed by painters, who also decorated the inside by working on the cement covering the wooden frame-work, and produced beautiful frescoes. There were also workers in leather, who not only made ordinary shoes but furnished royalty with shoes richly inwrought with varied thread; skilful potters who produced figured pottery, ivory craftsmen who wrought ivory into diverse shapes. And it is interesting

<sup>1</sup> 'And the brick mound, search as you may, contains  
No veins of iron for the miner's pains'.

to note that brewers, who extracted liquor from rice, sugar-cane, and soma, had a flourishing trade.

In these occupations, to use the jargon of economists, the utilities produced by labour were 'fixed and embodied in outward objects'. It remains to mention a number of occupations where the utilities were 'fixed and embodied in human beings, or consisted in a mere service rendered' (Mill). There were teachers, who gave lessons in science and taught the three Vedas in return for a fee or service; physicians whose stock in trade were 'healing herbs' and 'magic spells'; surgeons who could fit a man who might need it 'with a false tip to his nose which was cunningly painted for all the world like a real nose'; men who were 'skilled in the lore which tells what are good sites for a building'; musicians who lived by their art and played only for a recompense; snake-charmers who exhibited a monkey garland on neck . . . schooled with sticks to serpent kind to draw near; drummers and conch-blowers who earned their living by playing on their instruments at a public festival to the crowd of holiday makers; acrobats who 'knew the javelin dance' and exhibited 'a wooden puppet worked by the hand'; tumblers who would 'roll about the ground'; actors who sang before crowds and were held in such low repute that no well-bred snake would dance in their presence for shame.

Occupations were generally hereditary, though there was nothing to prevent one from following any trade he liked. Normally a trade was recruited from the families of those who were already in it, and such technical training as was requisite was imparted by father to son. Industrial labour was free, for, though slaves existed, they were mostly domestic servants. Each workman was a separate unit, and he had to find his own raw material and sell the finished product of his labour. But working together was not unknown; there were craft-villages, which were conducive to some degree of co-operation and specialization within a particular industry, and men sometimes plied their trade in common and shared the gains. A very interesting feature of the organization of industry was the presence of trade guilds, eighteen in number, of which but four—masons, blacksmiths, carpenters and painters—are mentioned by name. Each had probably a head and were all subject to the jurisdiction of the Treasurer. Work was frequently suspended, for festivals were proclaimed, when people used to 'hang up their ploughs and feast the brahmins with flesh and rice, drink in private and still seem total abstainers, with their cups flowing over'.

Trade was carried on by land and sea, and it is noteworthy that practically all the sea voyages mentioned in the stories were undertaken by merchants who went 'laden with cargo', where we are not always told. The golden land (modern Pegu) is mentioned three times, and Babylon

once. The oversea trade was fed by the traffic along well-known trade-routes, but the inland trade was important in itself. The roads were very bad, and were often mere tracks kept open by peasants. There were no bridges, and rivers were crossed only with boats. The route lay through forests and deserts which were attended with danger from man and beast. Merchants travelled in large numbers for the sake of safety, with one of their number as leader, and hired the people who lived at the entrance to a forest to see them safely across.

Food-stuff could have hardly entered into the traffic between distant places, and the commodities carried were probably 'rich cloth, cutlery and armour, perfume and drugs, gold and jewellery'.<sup>1</sup> Features of interest in connexion with the organization of trade were market-towns, which were a natural corollary of the specialization of villages in particular crafts, and the border-merchant who served as a sort of entrepôt. Merchants in capital cities established relations with merchants on the border, and would load their carts with local produce and give orders to the men in charge to go to their correspondents on the border and exchange it for the wares in their shops. The wares obtained were probably forest produce and possibly also goods of other countries.

Prices were fixed in terms of money, but money did not always pass between the parties. Terms were arrived at after haggling, which was 'killing work'; but notions of a fair price prevailed. The king made his purchases under special conditions. He had a valuer 'who used to value horses, elephants, jewels, gold and the like, and he used to pay over to the owner of the goods the proper price as he fixed it. . . . The price was what he said and no other.' People attempted to 'corner' goods, sometimes with success, and it is interesting to note that successful attempts are related as evidence of a man's abilities and no condemnation is expressed.

The Jatakas while speaking, as a rule, of 'pieces of money', mention coined money of gold, and also coined kahapanas, half-kahapanas, padas, masakas, kakanisand nikkhas. These names, it would appear, were units of weight, whether of gold, silver or copper, but there is reason to believe that each unit of weight in relation to coinage came to be associated with a particular metal.<sup>2</sup>

A few facts with regard to the purchasing power of money may be mentioned. Two oxen were worth twenty-four pieces and a horse 1,000 pieces. A bundle of grass was worth two masakas, while a kahapana would buy 'a garland with one part of it, perfume with another, and strong drink with a third'. An ass was worth eight kahapanas, and eight pieces were the price for the services of a barber and also paid for a ferry across a river. A great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold and jewellery and

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Chanakya, *Artha Sastra*, bk. ii, ch. 12.

these were stowed away in a pillow or hidden in other convenient places. Another method was to deposit money with friends, but this was attended with its own dangers. Loans were common and the familiar figure of the embarrassed debtor flits across the pages of the Jataka book. A bond was executed by the borrower, but there is no reference in the stories to interest.

All these economic pursuits—agriculture, handicraft, commerce and usury—were followed by all, irrespective of caste distinctions. 'The life of mechanics or tradesmen' was not considered 'ignoble or inimical to virtue'. We read of brahmins as physicians, goatherds, merchants, hunters, snake-charmers, carpenters, farmers, and forest-guides. A Kshatriya takes to trade, while another dwells with a rich merchant's family, working with his own hands. King Kusa in his infatuation for Prabhavati, takes to pottery, basket-weaving, garland-making, and kitchen-service successively. The son of a merchant works with a potter, while a decayed merchant-family takes to farming. In none of these cases is it suggested that there was any falling off from the jati.

The fact of the matter is that caste did not imply a common hereditary occupation at the time of these stories.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of obvious attempts to be little its importance, the division into four main castes is accepted as a familiar fact. There are certain differences between the jati of the Pali text, the division of the brahminical books, and the modern caste, but the attributes which the caste of brahminical theory has in common with the modern caste and which are its essentials are to be found in the *jati* of the stories. A person's jati was determined by birth and contact with a person of a low jati was impure. The instance of the Candala is a case in point. Not only was his touch pollution but even his sight was an ill-omen, and an over-scrupulous brahmin would not even allow the wind to blow from a Candala. This impurity extended to things touched by him, specially food. There are several instances of a brahmin suffering for having eaten food touched by a Candala.

Marriages took place as a rule, between persons of the same jati, though it would be going too far to speak of a strict rule of endogamy, because there are several instances of mixed marriages which lead not to mixed castes, but to the vesting of the caste of the father in the off-spring. Marriages were, a matter of course, at an early age, both for men and women. A match was arranged by the parents, and the consent of the parties was assumed or purely formal, and their unwillingness was even disregarded. Although a man thus began life with a wife, it did not mean, however, a separate establishment. The girl came to live with the

<sup>1</sup> For a very full treatment of the caste organization at this time, the reader is referred to Fick's *Soziale Gliederung*.

parents of her husband, and the household and the family property were managed by the eldest male member. Supporting parents in their old age was an imperative duty enjoined by religion and tradition. The idea is so deep-set that even animals are represented as supporting their parents.

Although some persons 'saw how from passion springs pain and how bliss comes by the abandonment of passion', and having 'no desire for a married life, adopted the ascetic life', the majority, while accepting this teaching of the time, were in no very great hurry to fulfil its precepts, and continued to live in the world. But the prevailing ideas about women and secular life left their mark on the position of women in society, and it must have required all Ananda's powers of pleading to persuade the Buddha to admit them to the Order.

As a girl, a woman was completely under her father's control, even in the matter of her marriage, as is seen from instances which make the free choice of a husband an exceptional boon. Not only was she often married against her will, but she was also given away in marriage in exchange for money. There was something worse still. It has been pointed out that one form of safe custody of money was to deposit it with a friend. It happened sometimes that 'as the creditor was long in coming, the friend spent that money; the other came back and upbraided him, but the debtor not being able to return the money, gave him his daughter in marriage'. Much love and happiness could hardly be expected in such a union, and we are not surprised to read that it was not unusual for a 'wife bought with his gold' to despise her husband, to 'regard his kith and kin with ever scornful eyes'.

During matrimony a woman's subjection was no less great. Vessantara gives away his wife Maddi to a Brahmin who begged her of him, and we are told that:—

The face of Maddi did not frown; she did not chafe or cry,  
But looked on silent, thinking He knows best the reason why.

She is willing that he should 'to whomsoever he desire, give or sell or kill'. Allowing for the obvious anxiety to exaggerate Maddi's devotion and love, the passage is significant as to the ideas prevailing with regard to the duties and status of a wife.

There is no reference to widow-marriage in the stories, but there are passages which imply that it was not against the ideas of the time for a woman to take, under exceptional circumstances, a second husband, while the first was living. Prabhavathi, a princess of Madra, was deceived into marrying Prince Kusa of Kusinara who was very plain, and on learning the truth, she thought 'what have I to do with such an ugly husband?

If I live, I'll have another husband', and fled to her father's city, where several kings came to seek her hand. There is no suggestion that this was in any way unusual. Vessantara on his banishment, thus exhorts his wife before he was aware of her determination to go with him:—

To him who will thy husband be do service, nothing loth,  
And if no man should wish to be thy husband, when I am gone,  
Go seek a husband for thyself, but do not pine alone.

The occupations to which women could resort were few. Agriculture gave them some work in the shape of watching, and weaving formed another occupation: but they were employed mostly in domestic service as waiting-women, maids and nurses, and seem to have been well treated by the families with whom they took service and led happy lives.

The religious teaching of the times, Buddhist and otherwise, helped people to bear sorrow and suffering with patience and resignation. They followed their simple occupations in quiet and contentment, although the fickleness of nature and the ambitions or cruelties of kings often brought on misery and suffering. Nature responded generously to the rude efforts of man. The crafts, though pursued on primitive lines, often produced works of great beauty and delicacy. Trade was brisk and bold adventurers hazarded the sea. Dignity of labour prevailed in the land, and caste had not developed in all its rigour. But the lot of the Candala, who was outside the pale of society, was hard, and women no longer held the position of dignity and self-respect they had enjoyed earlier in the history of the country.

In spite of probable errors of perspective and detail the picture is sufficiently clear to reveal its startlingly modern character. If time has made any difference at all, it seems as though the light were depressed and the shadow deepened. Agriculture is as primitive as before, and the fickleness of Nature no less pronounced. The crafts have lost what inspiration they possessed and become more and more mechanical. The people have lost the contact with the sea which has been such a powerful factor in civilization and progress. The caste system is dying hard, and of the Candala it can be said even now that:—

No roof to shelter from the sky, amid the dogs he lay,  
His mother nursed him as she walked.

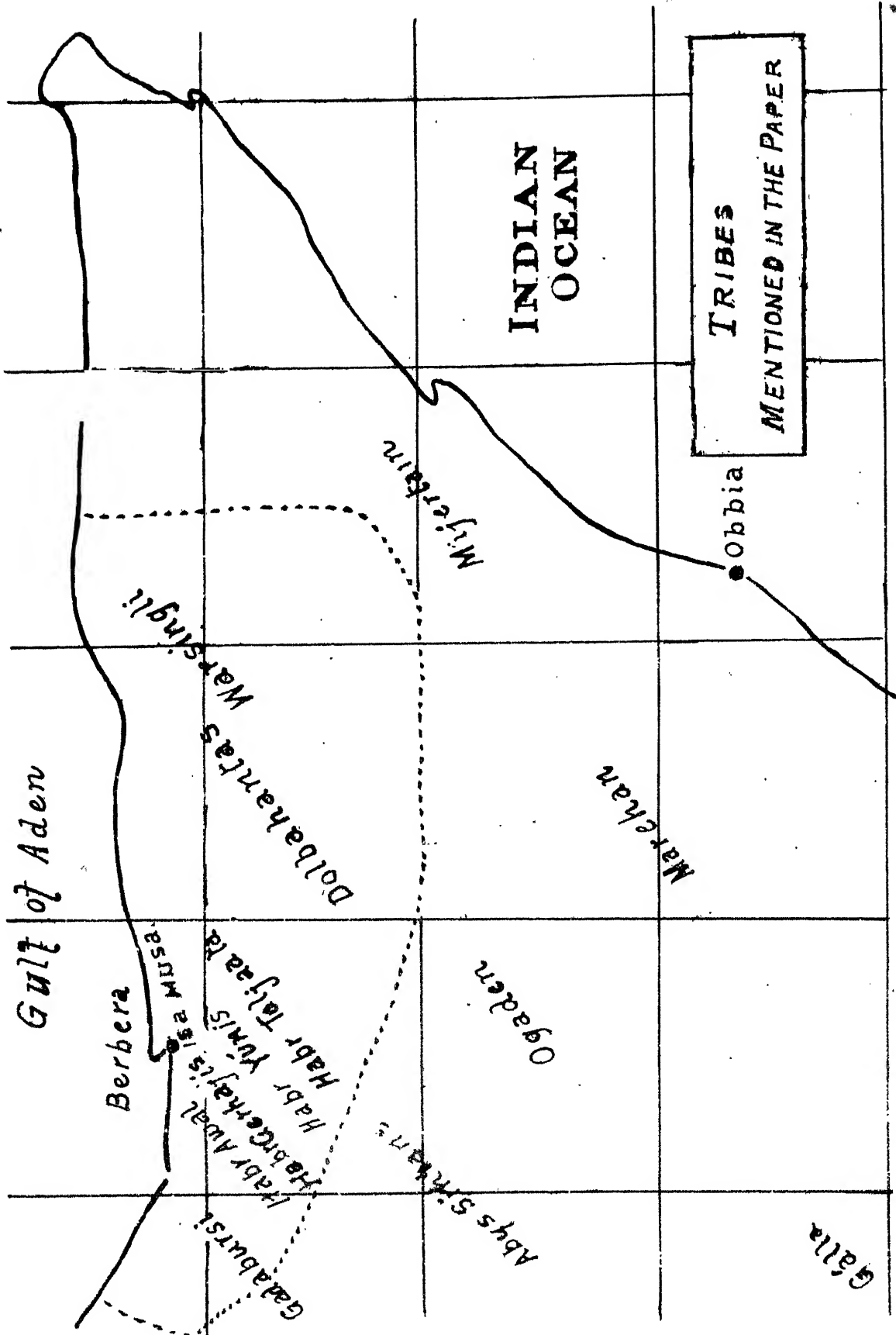
The position which women occupy in society deservedly places the people low in the scale of civilization.

There are however, new features full of promise and hope. The close tie with England has not merely spread peace and order throughout the

land and given it a unity which it never possessed before, but has also introduced great dynamic forces. The West, contact with which is novel only in its continuity, stands now for capitalist production in the field of industry, for nationalism and representative government in that of politics, even as it stands for the Gospel of Jesus in the field of religion. The working of these forces in the land will be watched by every lover of India, with trembling and hope; the outcome is on the knees and between the hands of the Gods.







TRIBES  
MENTIONED IN THE PAPER

Obbia

INDIAN  
OCEAN

Miyersam

Marehan

Ogaden

Galla

Gulf of Aden

Berbera

Habr Awal

Habr Yonis

Habr Tayya

Habr Gerhayis

Gabaursi

Warsingli

Dolbaharras

# SOMALILAND

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY CAPTAIN CORRIE HUDSON, D.S.O., I.M.S.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

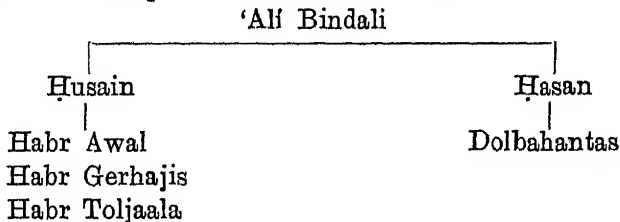
I HAVE been asked to read you a paper on Somaliland. It is perhaps difficult to understand how this subject comes into the province of the Mythic Society for neither the history nor the ethnology of Somaliland concerns India, as far as we know. However, Somalis are Muḥammadans, and their country lies adjacent to India, so perhaps for this reason a brief account of the country, and its people may be of interest.

The Somalis live a tribal existence, and the following are the chief tribes amongst them:—

The Gadurbursi; The Habr Awal; The Habr Yúnis; The Habr Gerhajis; The Habr Toljaala; The 'Isá Músa; The Dolbahanta; The Warsingali; The Marehan.

These tribes live a nomad life, and are in constant petty warfare with one another. The trouble usually arises over one tribe looting camels, sheep, and goats from another tribe. You can easily imagine that these affrays are only too likely to occur amongst tribes leading a nomad existence, as in their wanderings the two different tribes come across each other, and a quarrel arises over the grazing ground or the wells, or over looting. Very often one tribe makes an organized raid on another tribe, and returns to find that the other tribe has looted their camels and sheep during their absence.

The origin of the Somali is not very clear. They state that they are descended from the Prophet's cousin 'Ali Bindali:—



and that from Husain, his elder son, sprang the Habr Awal, Habr

Gerhajis and Habr Toljaala, and that from Hasan, the younger son, sprang the Dolbahantas.

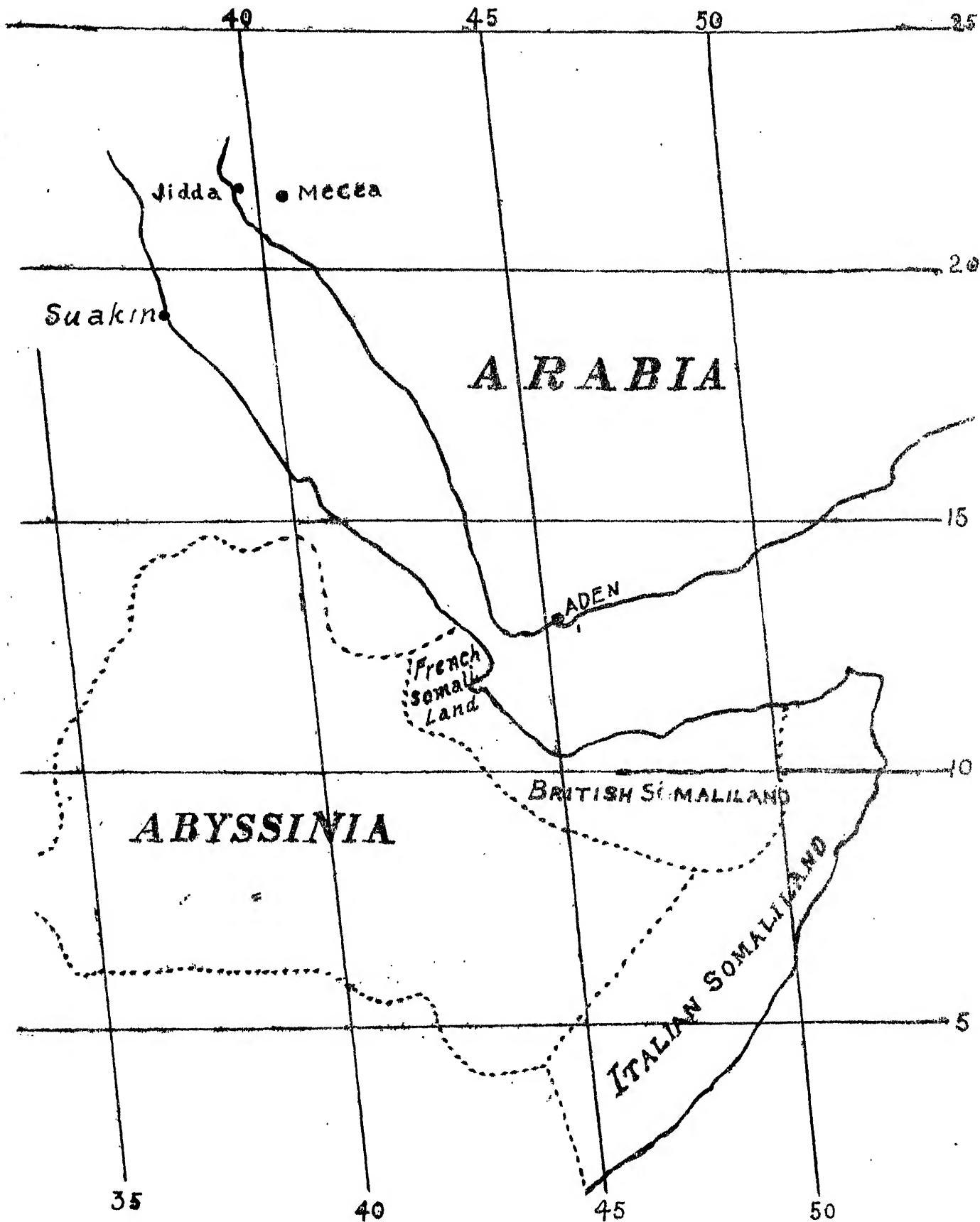
This does not, however, appear very likely and it seems more likely that there was originally a savage race inhabiting the country, and that they got driven out by the encroachment of the Galla tribes from the south, and by Arabian adventurers, or traders, from the north. The Arabs and Gallas intermarried and formed the Somali race.

It is certain that the Somali does not resemble in any way the ordinary African. He is totally unlike the Yao, Zulus, Soudanese and Swaheli races. Some say they are allied to Hindustan. There are besides these tribes mentioned above certain outcaste men who are hunters, blacksmiths, and workers in leather, called respectively Midgans, Tomals, and Yebirs.

The Somali in appearance is very dark complexioned and possesses thin, well marked features. He is tall and has great physical endurance. To give you an idea of his endurance, I will tell you of two instances personally seen by me. One was after fight. A Somali was shot by the enemy, and the bullet penetrated just below his stomach and came out to the right of his vertebral column behind. He was then speared in five places. One spear wound ripped up his abdomen, and let out twelve feet of gut, another wound cut into his right thigh, and a third, almost into his left shoulder joint, and there were many other smaller wounds. The big wounds were six or seven inches long and two inches deep. This man crawled from twelve noon under a blazing sun, stark-naked and trailing his gut behind him, until five p.m., when he was picked up, and attended to. He recovered.

Another man, whilst riding in the usual mad headlong way they do, ran into a thorn tree. The Somali thorn trees are a very particular kind of thorn tree, and boast six inch thorns. One thorn over six inches long ran clean through the man's right knee joint. He promptly fell off, drew his dagger, and proceeded to dig at the thorn. Fortunately I came by and got it out for him in a more scientific way, although I expect his rougher way would have probably had as good a result. I put him in a dhooly, his knee having been dressed antiseptically. Two hours later I met him galloping about, all the bandages off, and his bare knees gripping his horse's sweating flanks. He also recovered. Then finally I have seen Somalis chased by mounted Infantry and a Camel Corps, and after ten miles they out-ran the horses and camels. They just lopped along like wolves.

As regards their clothes they wear white calico, called a tobe, just loosely twisted round them, with one end sometimes thrown over the head to act as a hat; and on their feet they wear sandals. At nights they wrap themselves up in their tobe from head to toe. A few sleep on





wooden pillows to avoid the ticks with which their camels swarm. The women also wear white calico, which is draped across the breasts and bunched at the hips and then falls nearly to the ankles.

Their weapons are spears, daggers, and shields, nowadays many possess rifles and guns. It is due to this that there has been greater trouble amongst them lately, as the Abyssinians, having numerous troops with modern rifles, are able to raid the Somalis who have not, so they have got disturbed in consequence, and the Mullah Mahomed Abdullah has smuggled many rifles into the country from dhows coming along the coast.

The young women are pretty and walk gracefully. If unmarried they wear their hair in a finely plaited mop reaching to the shoulders and, if married, they wear it done up in a knob covered with blue cloth.

The occupation of the Somali is to keep camels, sheep, goats, and horses. The camels are lighter and smaller than the Indian camel and possess one hump. Many of them are excellent to ride. The sheep are black headed dumbas, or two tailed sheep, and the horses are small and wiry. All these animals can go without water for two or three days easily, and the camels for ten.

These animals are fed by the Somali guiding them to good grazing grounds, where rain has recently fallen, or where there is water. This is one of the great difficulties they have to contend with, as the rain soon runs off the country after it has fallen, or evaporates, and so the water question is always to the front.

As they have to wander great distances in search of grazing grounds, they wander in families or tribes for safety against their neighbours. Their chief food is camel's meat, sheep and milk usually sour, and smoked.

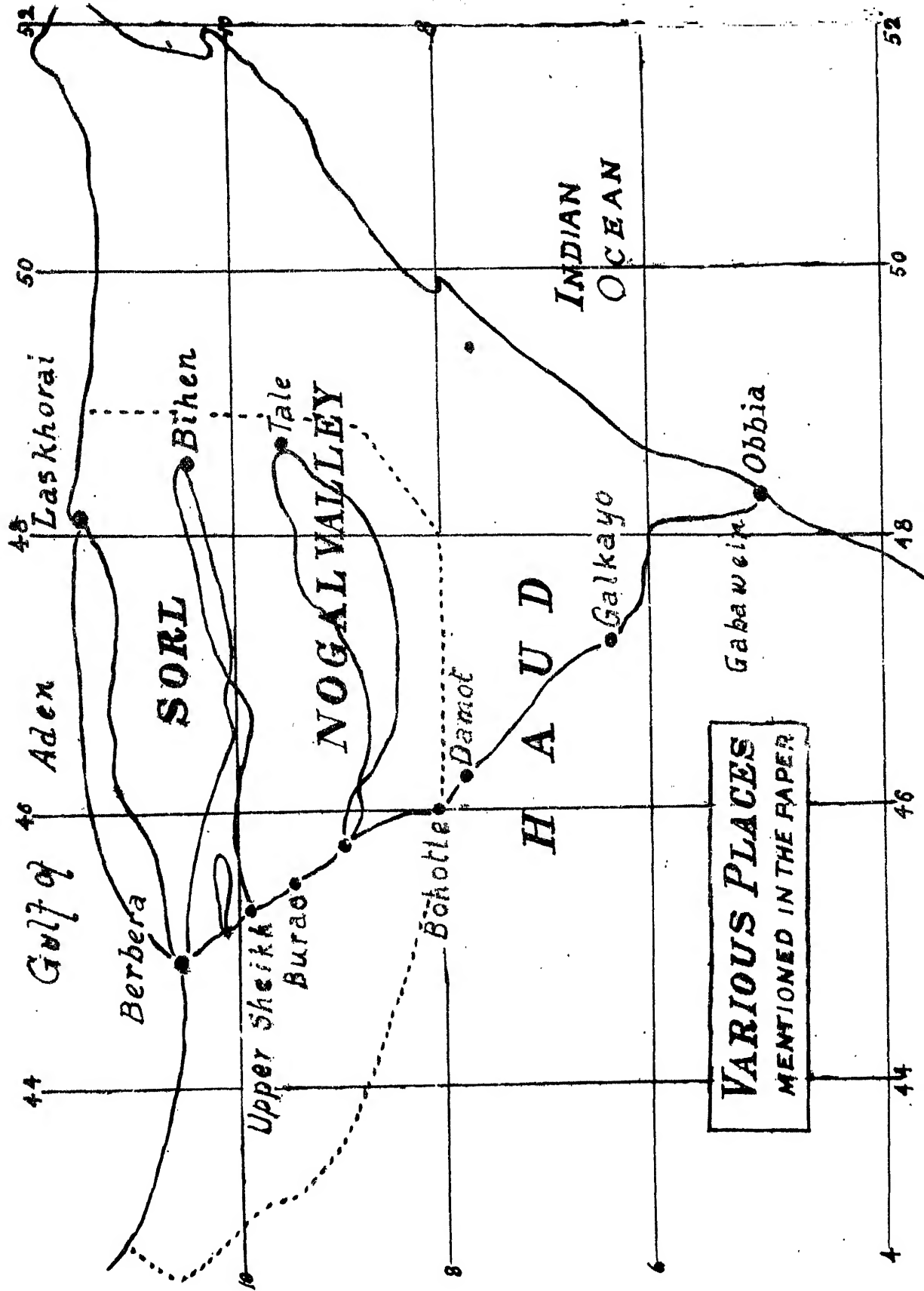
Now, as regards the country, I think it would be best to take in imagination a quick journey from Obbia in Italian Somaliland across the Haud desert to Berbera in British Somaliland. In doing so you will get an idea of the character of the country. Landing in February we found two stone buildings, glorified by the name of a fort and a few straw huts. This is Obbia and the chief Somali of that district calls himself the Sultan of Obbia. A 'Sand' Sultan he should be called for there is little else. It was extremely difficult to land on account of a tremendous surf, and it was only with the help of Madras massula boats that we did so. Later on, when the monsoon broke, landing was impossible. The water here was got from pits dug in the sand and was salty—sea water almost. Going twelve miles inland a bare sandy plain is crossed, in which there are a few tufts of grass upon which Lowland gazelle feed. Parties were sent out to search for water. One party went to a place called El-Marah, but, like the children of Israel in Exodus, they found the waters of Marah

were bitter and they could not drink it. However some wells were found at Gabawein, which produced sulphurous water. The march on to Lodabal, the next place where there were wells, was extremely hot, and thirty men fell down with heat stroke and one died. The country is a mass of sand dunes. Fifty miles inland the country changes somewhat, a certain amount of scrub jungle appears, and also ant-hills ranging from four to thirteen feet high. The places one stops at are named simply because they possess wells, but there are no houses or people there at all. A well or a big fig tree always gets a special name. At Galkayo, another fifty miles on, the appearance is again changed—there are numerous mimosa (khausa) trees, and fig trees (darei), and plenty of low scrubs and bushes, with good grazing grass, and several wells. The water as usual is sulphurous. There is here one very interesting well, or pit, called 'El-Yami', Yami's well, or as we called it Rider Haggard's well. It was a pit 160 feet deep and 400 feet across, and had thirty feet of water in the bottom, clear, cool and good, with no smells, no sulphur and no salt in it, but, and this was the sad part of it, no way of getting down to it.

This water pit was surrounded by a wooded glade of tall trees festooned with green creepers. There was a dense undergrowth of thorny bushes. Above brightly coloured birds flew, and the bush below was the haunt of leopard and lion. Walking through the deep shadows, a hurried rustle followed by silence would tell of some animal startled by one's approach. Half a mile through this tangle of trees, creepers and grass brought one abruptly to the edge of the glade into the dazzling sun and on to an open plain dotted over with herds of antelope.

From Galkayo onwards, one plunges into the Haud (the impenetrable), so called because the bush is so thick. It is a high plateau between the two coasts. The soil is hard red sand-stone, and the trees are mostly thorn trees; thorns that are thick, and thorns that are long, thorns that catch and tear everything they can possibly reach to. The flat-topped mimosa tree is in great evidence, and also a tree that might be called the 'nightmare' tree. It is a brilliant silver grey, or bright green tree, that fizzes out of the ground, and twists and squirms in every and any direction, giving one the impression on a moonlight night of a zigzaggy firework. This tree is armed with fierce thorns and the branches are brittle, and when broken smell of aromatic oil. There are many flowering trees, and thousands of beautifully plumaged birds: those most numerous being glossy starlings of blue, yellow, and orange colour.

The track across the Haud is extremely narrow, and only an experienced guide can find the way over. There are no wells in it and no water, yet it swarms with antelope and with lions. Passing out of the Haud by Damot, a great open plain is reached, dotted all over with ant-hills of red sand growing up to thirty feet in height. This sort of

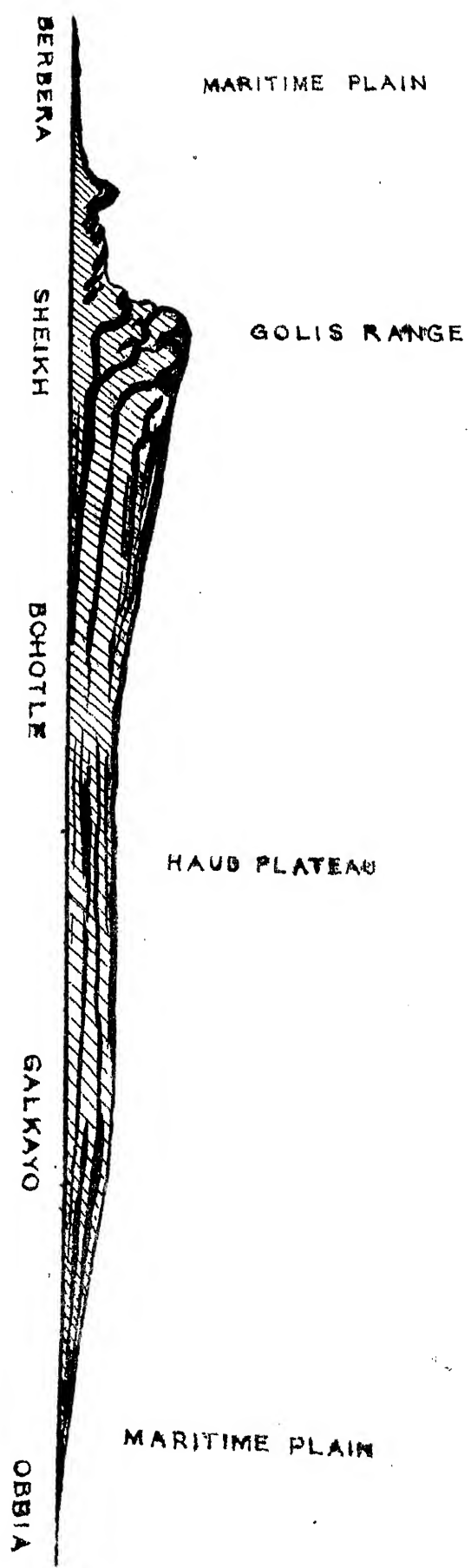








ROUGH ELEVATION FROM BERBERA TO OBBIA



plain is called a ban, and I should fancy there must have been an ant-hill every 120 yards. These ants appear to build their nest gradually around a tree and so destroy it, as I saw many ant-hills in which the tree branches were sticking out at the top.

The country on to Bohotle is alternate bush and plain, and Bohotle itself boasts a small fort built by the British troops. There are a number of shallow wells here and the country around is very densely wooded.

In August we trekked across the Arori plain, and I can safely say that it left a vivid impression on me, and those I travelled with. It was a sun-dried, frizzled out, bare, slate grey, rocky plain, a pitiable plain whose very existence needed an explanation. The heat was intense and the trees were merely sticks standing amongst red-hot rocks. At night time enormous numbers of hyaenas made an ugly babel very fitting to the appearance of the country. At other times of the year this plain assumes a different appearance. It is therefore only a matter of rain. From there onwards to upper Sheikh, the country improves and it becomes more wooded and one sees antelope and other animals.

Upper Sheikh is situated on the Golis range, a chain of hills from five to seven thousand feet high, about thirty-five miles inland from the coast. The hills drop abruptly from upper to lower Sheikh and all along the range; and there is a pass at upper Sheikh that twists down the mountain in a zigzag fashion amongst tall cactus trees and boulders of rock.

This range of hills is the haunt of the greater koodoo, an antelope standing over thirteen hands with fifty-six inch horns; and there are also below other antelope such as lesser koodoo, geranuk klipspringer and the little dik-dik, an antelope as small as a hare with horns one to three inches long. There are also wart hog, and large grey-maned baboons.

Thus Sheikh, with its trees, streams and high altitude, forms a pleasing contrast to Berbera which is arrived at after thirty-five miles travelling over country which gradually gets barer and drier. We came across wild ass and Beira antelope at Bihendula on the way to Berbera. The last ten miles into Berbera are over the maritime plain, and once more one comes to sand and only sand, and to the furious wind of the Karif which blows the sand up in huge dense impenetrable clouds, carrying with it stones and anything that happens to be loose. This wind lasts from 11 p.m. to 2 p.m. the next day, and then drops. After it has dropped, one marches into Berbera and meets its peculiar smells.

Berbera is the chief seaport town. It has a good harbour formed by a spit of sand running out from the native quarter into the sea. There are numerous very dirty straw and mud houses, a few better built stone houses, and three or four European houses. No doubt more have been built since. It is rich in smells, and the Karif wind. The sea is

quite hot to bathe in, and has the further excitement of sharks to enliven a bathe, not to speak of queer fish like electric rays.

Having arrived at Berbera, one's great object in life is to leave it, and so I will briefly tell you the character of the country going towards the horn of Africa and so leave Berbera. It is a much barer and more open country, something like the South African veldt. Water is still the difficulty, and is usually sulphurous or Carlsbady. It is a country of a few oases formed by wells, or pools, dotted in surrounding rolling plains of stone boulders and sand, and these plains are blown over by furious winds and sand devils. Even here numerous herds of antelopes dwell and also ostriches and other animals. The country is called the Sorl.

In going down the Nogal valley one passes over a country which has some of the characteristics of the Haud and the Sorl. It is, on the whole, much better. Both in the Nogal valley and the Sorl, there are remains of gállá graves. At Gur Anod in the Sorl, at an elevation of 4,550 feet, were a group of graves with crosses. At Badwein (big tank) there is a large tank now in ruins, which is of considerable age; and there are other signs of a former civilization at Kirrit, Upper Sheikh and many other places.

The seasons in Somaliland are the Jilál, January to April, which is dry and hot; the Gu—rainy season—May to June; Haga, July to September, which is the hot weather during which the Karif blows; Dair, October to December, when it is cooler. The country is greatly changed by the seasons, the hot dry weather leaving a scorched up bare expanse of sands and rocks with withered stalks which after rain changes, as if by magic, into trees, grass, and scrub jungle. The rain tearing over these sandy and rocky stretches of country scours a way for itself forming a tug. A tug is a dry river bed, and in some places it is shallow and in other places sixty or seventy feet deep. The river bed is covered with fine sand. It is not safe to camp in one of these tugs, as, although it may not be raining at that particular place, a rush of water, a spate, may come down the tug from the rain that has fallen many miles away.

With this changing character of country it is easy to understand the reason of the nomad existence of the Somali. It is a case of water and grass. In the old days the feuds between the tribes resulted in much excitement and noise and little damage, for the Somali is excitable to an extreme degree. Nowadays the rifle is ousting out spear and shield, and consequently the troubles with neighbouring tribes, or countries, are apt to assume more alarming proportions.

The Somali would be quite helpless against any troops such as the Abyssinians, or any other Power, and therefore it is clear how needful it is for them to have our protection. At the same time they are allowed to fight out their own intertribal petty rows in the interior unmolested.

The Mullah Mahomed Abdullah is reported to be dead. It is a good thing for the tribes if he is, because he was really merely the head of a large band of raiding robbers and brigands. Now perhaps there will be peace until the next Mullah.

*In the course of the discussion upon the lecture, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar made the following remarks :—*

REGARDING Captain Hudson's lecture on Somaliland and its people one question will naturally arise, and that is what has Somaliland to do with the Mythic Society. The lecturer himself propounded the question, though he did not attempt to answer it. Having been called upon by the honourable chairman to speak, I may usefully answer this question as Secretary in the absence of my senior colleague.

It is a common complaint of the meteorologist that his forecasts of Indian monsoons fail, because he has not the means to study the Indian ocean basin fully. This is even more true of the ethnologist. The ethnology of India is a fascinating subject, but it labours under the grave drawback that it has not yet been studied in all its natural setting. There are at any rate two opposing opinions as to a Negro element in the Indian population—Professor Keane putting it forward, as a submerged Negro type, Sir H. Risley ignoring such a possibility altogether. Granting this Negro element the next question is whether this element is assimilable to the African or the Malay type. Neither of these questions can be answered satisfactorily unless the Indian Ocean littoral is studied completely. In the Arabian Sea part of this littoral, Somaliland occupies a prominent place, and a study of its people ought to throw some little light upon the question. Captain Hudson did not deal with the people quite as much as with the country—perhaps he would let us know about them on a future occasion. I have not the first-hand knowledge of the country that the lecturer and Major Brown have had. It may not be out of place, however, to offer a few remarks to show the possibility of a connexion between that country and India.

Ethnologists are inclined to attach more importance to the ethnography of a people rather than to the physical measurements as a test of race. If ethnography is of such importance, then a study of the East Coast tribes of Africa is likely to throw much light upon the question whether the Negro element is African or Malay, assuming that there was a Negro submerged element. The people of Somaliland are considered by ethnologists who studied them carefully a mongrel between Semitic Arabs, Hamitic North Africans and black Negroes. One or the other element preponderates according to locality. The Gallas are the chief inhabitants of Somaliland. The word Galla means 'immigrant', wherever they immigrated from. Among the Mijertain Somalis the use of silver is supposed to have been brought from India. The organization of the army and the trades show some similarity to India. The warriors are all bachelors, like the Nairs of Malabar, and to the queen mother is attached as much importance as to the king himself. Each trade seems to be more or less of a caste. In the confusion of civilizations it is hard to distinguish native elements from foreign accretions.

The coast looks towards India and the coasting trade seems to have been early captured by the Indians. That there was considerable communication during the historical period can be proved to the satisfaction of the most sceptically inclined. Apart from all that is known from the classical geographers, there is evidence of an unimpeachable character from an unexpected source. The papyrus recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, of the second century A.D., offers a remarkable piece of evidence,

The papyrus contains a Greek farce of the second century A.D., which includes a few passages in a barbarian tongue. The heroine, Queen Charition, gets stranded on a foreign coast and is taken to the local ruler who addresses his court 'Promoi Indon', chiefs of the Indians. The other sentences are interpreted as the equivalent of the Kanarese 'bere koncha madhu patrakke hakki kudisu'—pour a little more wine in the cup and cause to drink. I cannot enter into the investigation of the philology of it here, except to remark that the conclusion seems likely enough from what we know from other sources of information.

1. A list of inhabitants of Egypt of the time of Vespasian registers an Egyptian as absent in India.

2. In an inscription of the temple at Redesiye on the route from Berenice (not far from Suakim on the Red Sea) to Edfu (not far from Assuan) there is the name of an Indian traveller who halted to worship the Greek god Pan. His name is given as Sophon Indos (Subhanu, the Indian).

3. In Indian astronomy one of the canonical works is the Romaka Siddhanta, having its meridian to pass through Yavanapura (Alexandria), while other works take the meridian of Ujjain in Malva.

4. Calendar fragments discovered at Milet (probably the one in Bruttium) contain several forecasts of the Indian Kallaneus, very likely the same as the Gynosphist Kalanos, who followed Alexander to Susa.

5. Recent researches show that before A.D. 200 there were four Indian embassies to Roman emperors, the first of which is absolutely beyond all doubt, as the Monumentum Ancyrorum refers to it with some little elation.

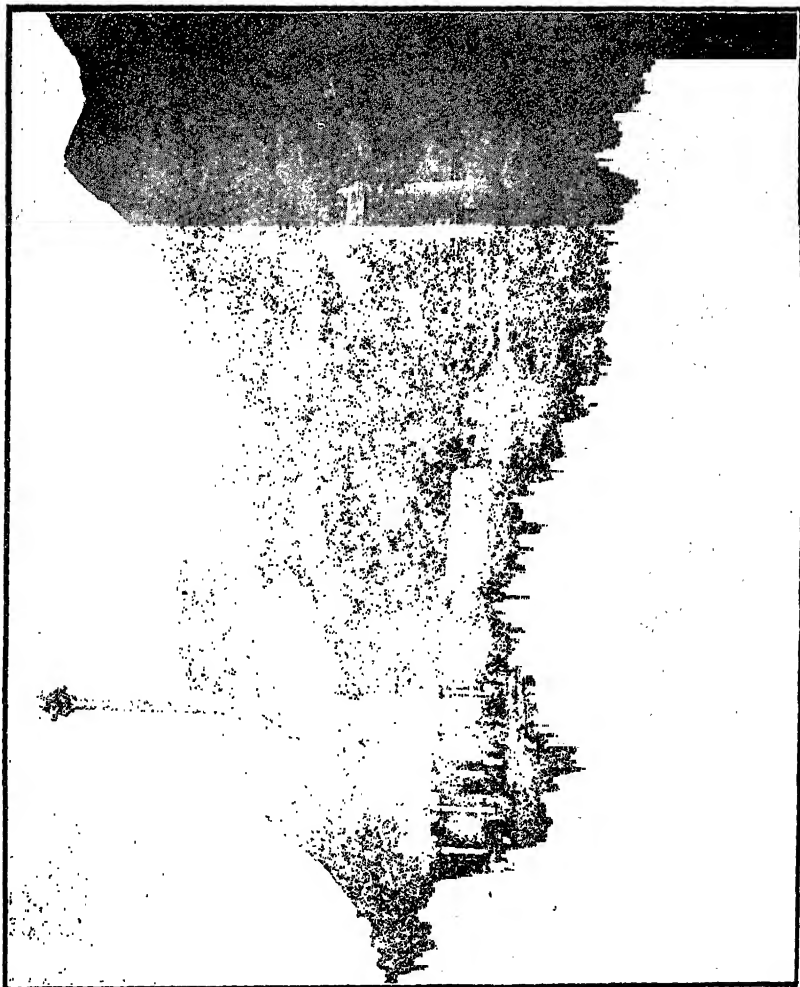
For other evidences of close commercial connexion reference may be made to *India at the Dawn of the Christian Era* in No. II, vol. I. of the Mythic Society's Journal. It would thus be clear that Somaliland is not beyond the horizon of vision of the inquirer into the antiquities of India. If this inquiry be pushed back further, the connexion between India and the African coast will become clearer; but that will have to be left over for another occasion.

## SAVANDROOG

EVERYBODY in Bangalore is familiar with the distant view of Savandroog, the most conspicuous object in the landscape westward of the High Ground, and yet perhaps hardly half a dozen people have made the ascent to the summit of that famous rock, which Wilks describes as 'the most formidable and the strongest fortress in Mysore, a place, which at one time, Lord Cornwallis had determined not to attack from the great improbability of success.'

An excursion to that historical place, which had been long contemplated, was carried out by a small party of members of the Mythic Society on the 24th of September last.

Leaving Bangalore at 7 a.m., we motored up to the nineteenth mile where the Arkavati was crossed, and where we could obtain a fine view of the grim droog confronting us in all its forbidding majesty. Nine miles more along the Magadi road and four along the Magadi-Closepet road brought us to the thick jungle which surrounds the foot of the

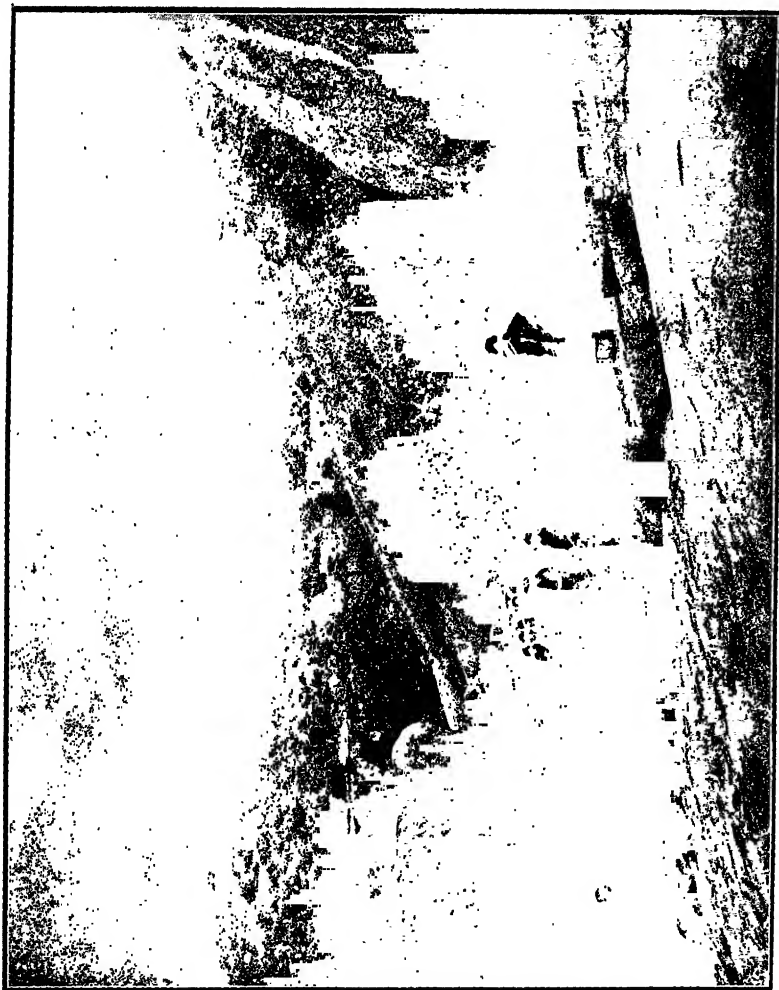


VEERABHADRA TEMPLE.

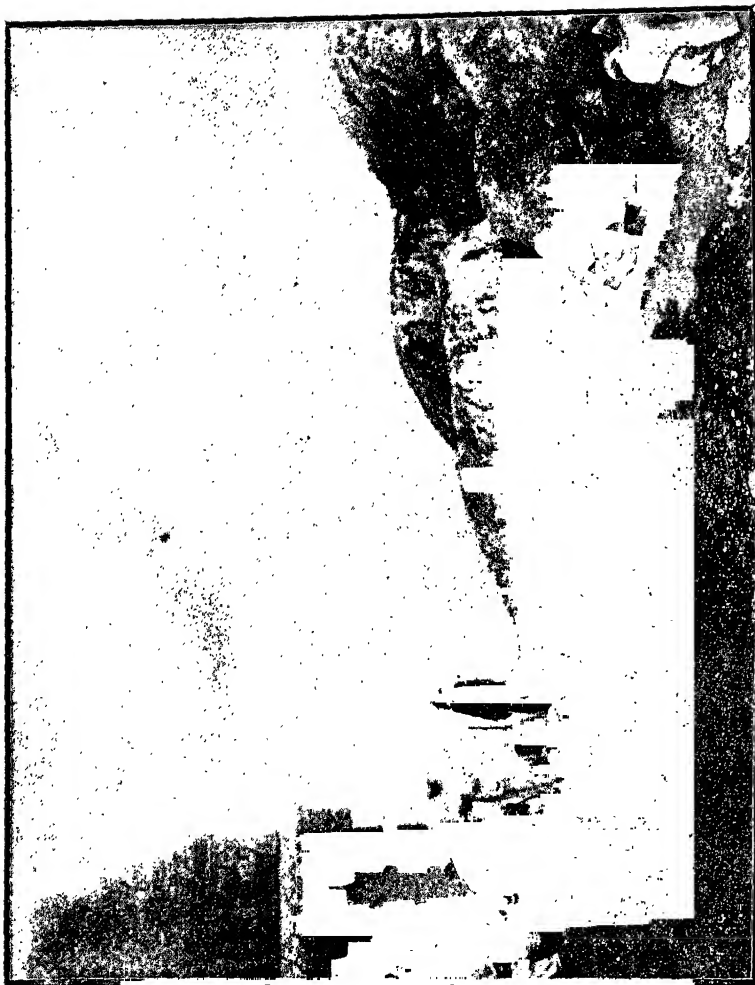




NARASIMHA TEMPLE.



IN THE JUNGLE AT THE FOOT OF THE DROOG.



SUMMIT OF SAVANDROOG HEIGHT OF 24 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL.

hill. The run which took about an hour and a half was through a most picturesque part of the country.

Three miles of jungle lie between the road and the foot of the droog. The track leads through the lower fort and passes two temples, one consecrated to Veerabhadra and the other to Narasimha. Here grassy slopes and shady glades alternate with thickets of trees and undergrowth, whilst groups of rocky boulders and patches of sheet rock combine to enhance the beauty of the scenery. The Stambham (flagpost) in front of the Veerabhadra temple is fully sixty feet high, the highest I have ever seen. These temples are in what seems to have been the Pettah of which hardly a trace now remains, as the jungle has completely invaded what was once a thriving garrison town.

In this lower fort were at one time confined twenty British Officers and thirty soldiers taken prisoners by Haidar 'Ali. 'While they were here Ameen Sahib was sent hither by his nephew Tippoo Sahib who had succeeded to the throne and was kept for seven days without food in a small enclosure on the top of the rock. He broke loose, but was soon re-taken and, being tied hand and foot in a standing posture to a stake driven into the ground, he was thus exposed for some time to the scorching sun, till an order arrived for the bowstring to put a period to his existence and his sufferings. This example before their eyes, with the accounts they frequently received of the murder of their fellows in other prisons, tended by no means to cheer our countrymen in their confinement: but the Treaty of Mangalore taking place in the beginning of 1783, they heard the glad tidings of peace, and soon after experienced the happiness of revisiting the territories of the British empire.'<sup>1</sup>

The base of the rock is about eight or ten miles in circumference, the sides so precipitous or at such an angle as to be inaccessible except at one point, and so steep as to admit of little vegetation. It is composed of a granite base of felspar, quartz, mica, and hornblende having long pale rose-coloured crystals of felspar.

About half a mile from the Narasimbha temple commences the real ascent, which is itself fully half a mile long and almost perpendicular. Ordinary boots have to be discarded, as one cannot get a firm foothold unless he is barefooted, or wears hemp or rubber shoes. By 3 p.m. we had surmounted all obstacles and reached the Mantap at the very summit of the rock, 4,024 feet above the level of the sea.

On our way back we had just time to have a glance at several buried or half buried kistvaens, surrounded by circles of stone of all sizes up to thirty feet or more in diameter. They are more numerous at a spot called

<sup>1</sup> *Select views in Mysore with historical descriptions*, published by Mr. Bowyer, London 1794.

Ittigi-badu (brickfield), a piece of rising ground or spur running out west from the centre of the hill near the foot of the western entrance.

'The kistvaens vary much in size and appearance. The commonest form being an oblong chest projecting a foot or two above the ground, and surrounded by a circle of stones, whose tops are seen only a little above the surface. The length, which is usually nearly double the breadth, lies more or less east and west, but the direction varies considerably.'

'The sides are composed each of a single thin stone slab, chipped or hammer-dressed along three edges, so as to fit together and form a rectangular chamber. The fourth edge—the right hand end of the stone viewed from without is undressed, and projects beyond the corner of the chamber.'

'The four side slabs rest upon a single flat stone laid deep in the ground, and are covered by the capstone, a comparatively huge undressed slab, which projects beyond the sides, especially on the east and south. The side stones vary from 5' to 10' in length, 4'-6" to 5'-6" in height, and from 2" to 6" in thickness. The interiors are from 6' to 9' long, 3' to 6' wide, and about 5' high. The capstones vary from 8' to 14' in length, 7' to 10' in width, and are from 6" to 16" thick. They seem to have been left in the rough, just as they were taken from the quarry (i. e. scaled off the surface of the hill), with their edges vertical and entirely undressed.'

'To have rested and adjusted these huge capstones on the thin side slabs would surely have broken the latter, and it appears hence that the chamber must have been surrounded by, and probably also filled with, earth before the capstone was put on.' 'The east side or front is still much banked up by earth, but on the other sides the earth is now scarcely raised at all above the general ground level. A round hole has been chipped high up in the front or east wall, large enough for a man to pass through, and an entrance passage walled off by thin slabs of stone.' 'When closed, a rounded shutter-stone has been set up at the inner end of the passage, closing the entrance hole, after which the passage has also been filled up with earth and so left.'

'Very many of the capstones have been split, as if by the effect of forest fires, or by their own weight in the course of time, from unequal or insufficient support, and large pieces of them have fallen over, leaving the interior of the chamber partly or wholly uncovered. Many chambers have no capstone at all, but this may well be due to the wandering stone masons (Waddar) who are known to make away with the stones of these ancient monuments.'

The usual surrounding circle of stones is rough, and consists of some fifteen to twenty-five boulder stones more than half buried in a ring from 12' to 30' in diameter, round the chamber. A few of the circles are

double or treble, and composed of upright or sloping slabs instead of boulders. A few of the chambers are free standing, i.e. almost entirely above ground, with a circle of half buried stones, and one on the adjacent hill of bare rock is entirely free standing, and without any circle at all.' 'Many slabs are to be seen at ground level or even partially covered by the soil and without any stone circle appearing. From their form and appearance these would also seem to be buried chambers or kistvaens.'

'There is little or no sign of any cairn, tumulus, or barrow, unless it be where the stone circle is double or treble, when the outer circle, usually of twenty to twenty-five boulders, is only a little above the general surface, the next higher, and the innermost of the highest rising in slight steps.' The double circle of upright slabs seemed to contain the rudiments of an earthen wall or a hedge, surrounding the tomb.'<sup>1</sup>

Some of those kistvaens have been examined by Col. Branfill and have yielded most interesting results, in the shape of pottery and iron weapons; but I believe that there is still a large field to be explored, and that further excavations would lead to discoveries which might throw some light on the inhabitants of Savandroog at a very remote period.

As it is the history of Savandroog has not been traced beyond the twelfth century A.D. Mr. Rice says that it was then in the hands of the Cholas. It soon passed into the possession of the Hoysala kings and after them into those of the Vijayanagar emperors. It appears to have been first fortified in 1543 by Samantha-Raya the Vijayanagar officer in charge of Magadi. He made himself independent and took up his residence on the Droog. His family held the fortress for three generations. Chikka Raya, his grandson, threw himself in a fit of madness into the pool on the Droog and was drowned. He left no children and Gangappa Nayak, the talari or watchman of Balakara, taking advantage of the confusion, seized the Government and strove to enrich himself by plunder. But Kempe Gauda II of Bangalore put him to death, secured the stronghold for his own family, and changed its name from Samanta-Durga to Savana-Durga. He soon had need of the retreat, being driven out of Bangalore by the Bijapur army. His descendants held Savandurga till 1728, when Deva Raja, Dalavayi of Mysore obtained possession, and carried the last Kempe Gauda to Seringapatam, where he ended his days. The impregnable fortress of Savandroog with the accumulated plunder of nearly 200 years fell into the hands of the Mysore army. The name of Krishnarajagiri then given to the Droog has not survived.

Most of the members of the Mythic Society have no doubt read with intense interest Wilks' graphic description of the capture of Savandroog in 1791 by the British under Lord Cornwallis; a less known description

<sup>1</sup> *On the Savandurga Ruins Stone Cemetery*, by Col. B. R. Branfill, 1879.

of the same event was published in 1794 by R. Bowyer, and as the writer seems to have been an eyewitness of the events he has recorded, and as his account is not easily accessible, I make no apology for quoting it in full, together with his description of the fortress at the time of the expedition :—

‘Completely surrounded by walls, and defended by cross walls and barriers wherever it was deemed accessible, it has the farther advantage of being divided above by a vast chasm, separating it into two hills; each of which having its own defences, two distinct citadels are formed, capable of being maintained independent of the lower works. Beside all this added to the rocky hills and natural forest thickened with clumps of planted bamboos, which constitute no easily surmountable barricade, the pestiferous atmosphere threatens with inevitable destruction the hardest troops, should they lie long before it. Hence its significant appellation of Savandroog, or The Rock of Death. So confident indeed was Tippoo Sultan in its strength, that he was highly pleased when he heard the British troops had run their heads against the tremendous “Gurdun Sheko”, a name he had himself given it, implying the Neck of Majesty; and his courtiers even congratulated him on the event, as on a victory.’

‘Towards the end of the year 1791, Lord Cornwallis, having to wait in this part of the country for convoys from the Carnatic, judged it a favourable opportunity to attempt the reduction of Savandroog; as its remaining in possession of the enemy would have been a considerable impediment to the success of his grand enterprise. Posting therefore the main body of his army in such a situation as to support the attack and cover an important convoy he expected; and three detachments under Lieut.-Colonel Cockerell, Captain Welch, and Captain Alexander Read, on the northern, middle and southern roads; he entrusted the execution of this arduous enterprise to Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, who commanded the right wing of the army, and had been employed in the first campaign, in reducing the forts of Dindigul and Palgautcherry.

On the 11th of December the Colonel pitched his camp within three miles on the north side of the rock, the quarter from which the chief Engineer had proposed to carry on the attack. His force consisted of the 52nd and 72nd regiments, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt, three battalions of Sepoys, and a detachment of Artillery under Major Montagu, with a park of four eighteen pounders, four twelves, two howitzers, and the field pieces of the corps.’

‘To cut a gun-road from the encampment and transport the artillery to the foot of the mountain, over rocky hills, and through a thick forest of bamboos, required incredible exertion: but to patient zeal and persevering ardour what is impracticable? By the 17th the work was accomplished and two batteries were opened; one at a thousand, the

other at seven hundred yards distance. The defences of the wall were much damaged, and the fire of the enemy was in great measure silenced by these: but the difficulty of making a breach was greater than was expected, the wall being built of immense stones, of which the lower tier was bound to the rock by clamps of iron.'

On the 19th opened an advance battery, which it had been found necessary to erect within 250 yards of the wall; and before the lapse of the succeeding day a practicable breach was effected. The forest through which the troops had cut their way with such labour, now became an advantage; as under cover of it, and of crevices and projections in the rock, a lodgement was made within twenty yards of the breach.'

'The flank companies of the 71st and 76th regiments having been sent from camp to join the detachment, and everything being in readiness, the morning of the 21st of December was fixed for the assault. Lord Cornwallis came, accompanied by General Medows to witness the success.'

'Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt commanded the storming party which was directed to four different attacks. Captain Gage, with the Grenadiers of the 52nd, and the flank companies of the 76th, to gain the eastern hill to the left: the Honorable Captain Monson with the light company of the 52nd, to scour the works towards the western hill, on the right; the Honourable Captain Lindsay, and Captain Robertson, with the flank companies of the 71st regiment, to separate, and attack the works or parties they might discover in the chasm or hollow between the hills: the 52nd and 72nd regiments were to follow the flank companies. At the same time parties were detached round the mountain, under Lieut.-Colonel Baird, and Major Petrie, to draw the attention of the enemy from the main object, and to endeavour to prevent their escape.'

'At eleven o'clock a signal of two guns being fired from the batteries, the troops advanced to the assault; the band of the 52nd regiment playing "Britons strike home", while the Grenadiers and Light Infantry mounted the breach.'

'A large body of the enemy had been observed in the morning, to come down from the western hill, for the defence of the breach: but on the appearance of the British soldiery advancing to the storm, they were seized with a panic, and fled. Our troops advanced as rapidly as the ruggedness of the rock, and the steepness of the ascent would permit, and the eastern hill, immediately above the breach, was carried by Captain Gage, without meeting or even overtaking the enemy.'

'The other division and main body of the enemy endeavoured to gain the western hill. Had this been effected, the siege must have recommenced; that part of the mountain being defended by several walls and barriers, whilst in most places it is of a precipitous steepness. On



these accounts it was impossible to entertain any very sanguine hopes of getting possession of it immediately: Captain Monson was left to his discretion, therefore, either to advance, if he found it advisable, or to take post where the ground might favour a lodgement for attacking the works.'

'The pathway from the breach to the western hill being not only extremely steep, but narrow, the fugitives impeded each other; and a few well directed shots from the batteries, at that juncture, did execution, and increased their confusion. Captain Monson, with his own light company of the 52nd regiment, and a Serjeant and twelve Grenadiers of the 71st pressed so hard that they entered the different barriers along with the enemy, killing a number of them, among whom was the second killahdar; and gained possession of the top of the mountain, where the head killahdar was made prisoner. So close and critical was the pursuit, that the Serjeant of the 71st when at some distance, shot the man who was shutting the first gate.'

'Above a hundred of the enemy were killed on the western hill, and several fell down the precipices in their endeavours to escape from the assailants. The prisoners were few. According to their report, the garrison had consisted of fifteen hundred, but many deserted during the siege.'

'Thus, in less than an hour, in open day, the stupendous and hitherto deemed impregnable fortress of Savandroog was taken by storm, without the loss of a single man killed, and only one private soldier wounded; and his arm was carried away by a cannon ball from one of our own batteries, rebounding from the rock, as he ascended to the assault'.<sup>1</sup>

A. M. TABARD.

## REVIEW

### Progress Report of the Assistant Superintendent of the Archaeological Department for Epigraphy, South Circle.

THIS report is, as usual, a very interesting document and embodies in it the results of the year's work by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B. A., and his assistants. The outstanding features of the year's work are:—

An index of the political and geographical divisions of South India. These divisions, which find mention in the inscriptions published from time to time since 1886, are the Mandalams (provinces), Kottams (divisions), Nadus (districts), Parrus (sub-divisions, etc.). This index was made for an elaborate account of the Cholas, which Rai Bahadur V. Venkayyah proposes to give as an introduction to the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions.

A contribution on 'The First Vijayanagara Dynasty', by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri for the Director-General's Annual, promises to be very interesting.

<sup>1</sup> *Select views in Mysore with Historical descriptions* by R. Bowyer.

The third item of interest is the discovery of Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon in the Siva and Vishnu temples of Polannaruvu of the period of the Cholas even prior to Rajaraja I.

Among the copper-plates that have been either secured, or inscriptions copied from plates borrowed, the most interesting is that relating to the early Chalukya Vikramaditya I. It is dated the twentieth year of the king and the Saka year 596, fixing this initial date as A.D. 654. These plates, Gadwal plates as they are called, record a grant of land as usual, but the historical fact of importance is that the king 'entered the Chola country (Cholika Vishaya) and was encamped at Urugapura situated on the southern bank of the Kavery (river)'. This is being edited by Professor Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The learned editor, the report says, identifies Urugapura with Negapatam. I may, however, venture to suggest that Negapatam cannot be described as being 'on the southern bank of the Kavery'. This Urugapura ought to be, I think, the town of Tirunagesvaram (a synonym of Urugapura) just a mile from the railway station at Kumbhakonam and due east of it. It is a considerable town even now and has a big Siva temple. It is hardly half a mile from the south bank of the Kavery, and not like Negapatam over thirty miles with half a dozen rivers, which find mention in inscriptions, between it and the Kavery. What is most interesting about this record is the fact, that it establishes the existence of the Chola kingdom in the south, despite the mention of a Chola State in the Cuddapah district by Hiuen Tshang, who was in the country about the same time.

Among the monuments recommended for preservation are a number of the so-called Panchapandava beds. These are rock-cut chambers for the residence of Jain ascetics. They have several of them Brahmi and ancient Tamil inscriptions which place their identity beyond a doubt.

One other most interesting find is a spurious plate inscription which refers to the sempiternal antagonism between the right and left-hand castes. This has particular reference to a dispute in Conjevaram on the occasion of the Car festival. The most interesting fact in the document is the introduction of Kumbalattans from Malabar as sorcerers to help the left-hand faction by exorcism against the obstacles thrown in their way by the right-hand faction.

There are many other items of interest in the report; but space will not allow of the mention of many more of them. It may be said in closing that the report will amply repay perusal for those interested in the subject of archaeology, and the epigraphist is to be congratulated upon turning out such a valuable and interesting record of his year's work.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

#### OCCASIONAL NOTES

##### *Fire-walking Ceremony at the Dharmaraja Festival.*

A 'FIRE-WALKING CEREMONY' takes place annually in the bed of the Upper Ulsoor Tank, Bangalore (Civil and Military Station) and also below the bund of the Mavhalli Tank near the Lal Bagh in Bangalore City. The ceremony is the culmination of a festival in honour of Draupadi and her five joint husbands, the Pancha Pandavas, Dharmaraja, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. The fire-walking is preceded by a series of Natakas, or Dramas, extending over a dozen or so nights, in which some of the principal episodes of the Mahabharata are enacted. The cult of Dharmaraja and Draupadi in South India deserves careful investigation. Under what circumstances

it was introduced in the south it is not easy to conjecture, because the whole cult, though essentially classical in theme, seems to be quite independent of Brahmanic influence, unlike the cults of Vishnu, Siva and Krishna which are essentially identified with the Brahmanic hierarchy.

The Pujari at Mavhalli is by caste a Palli (Vanniyar), the Pujari in the Blackpalli Temple, as also the carrier of the 'Karagam' (see below), are by caste Vaniyars (oil-pressers) and the worshippers are chiefly Vellalars and Vaniyars.

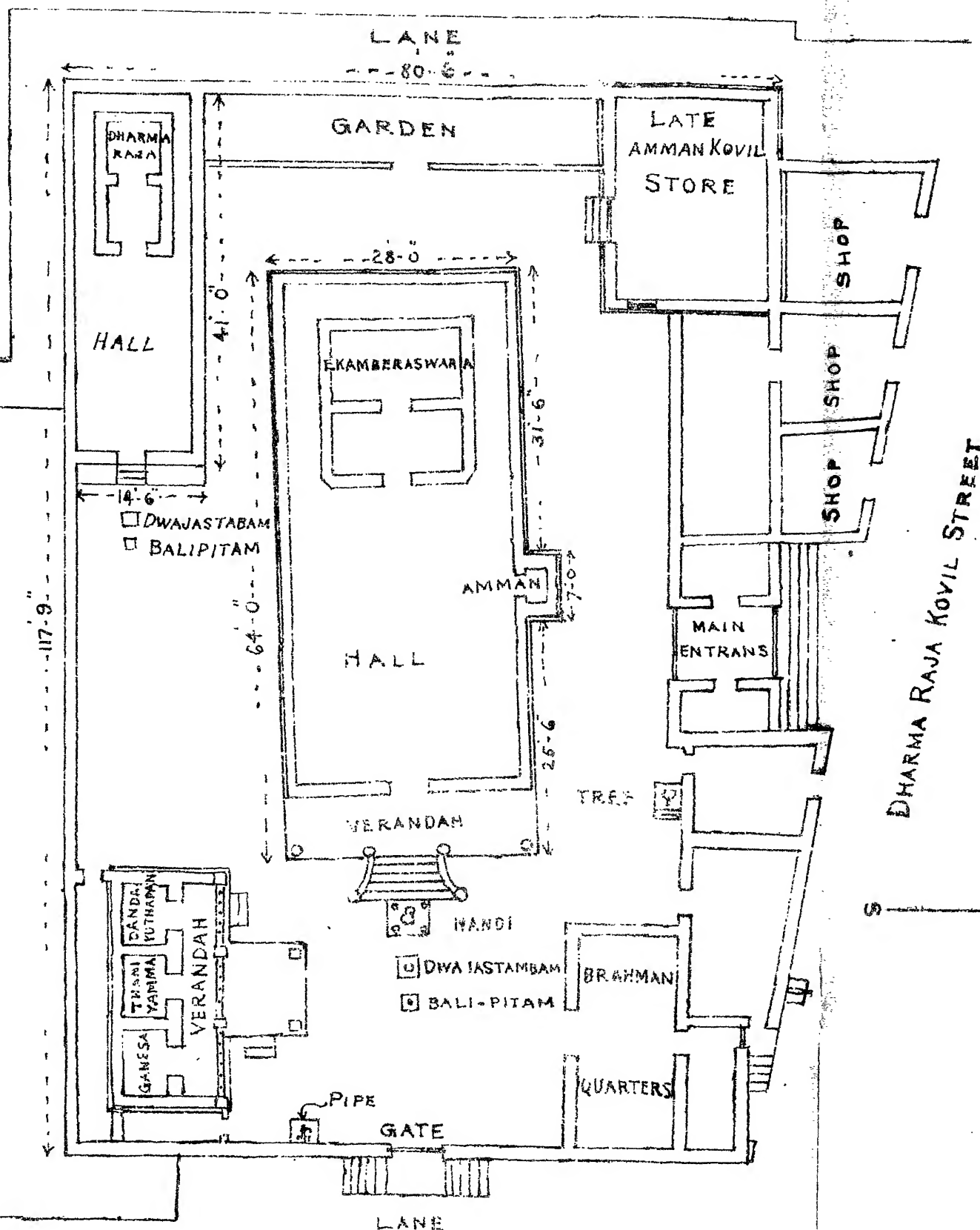
### *The Temple*

The Dharmaraja shrine, with which the Ulsoor Tank Fire-walking is connected, is situated in Dharmaraja street, Blackpalli, in the compound of a temple dedicated to Ekamreswara Swami (Siva). The main temple faces east as usual, the orthodox (1) Nandi (bull) Mantapam, (2) Dwaja Stambham (flag staff) with bells, (3) Bali-pitam (altar of sacrifice) being in front of it. In the south-east corner of the compound is a triple shrine facing north and containing (1) in the eastern compartment Vigneswara, (2) in the centre Ambupuri Ammal, otherwise called Thani-amma, a caste goddess of the Vaniyars (oil-pressers) (3) in the western shrine Subramaniam.

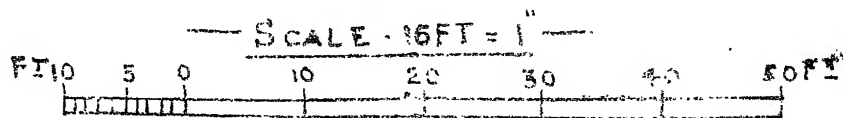
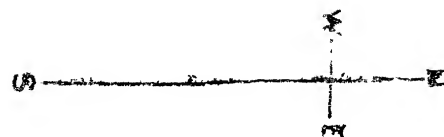
The Dharmaraja shrine is in the south-west corner and faces east. It is a plain building and has a dwaja stambham in front of it, a counterpart of the stambham in front of the main Siva shrine. In front of the shrine for the festival a temporary pandal is erected with plantain trees and a toraṇam (festoons) of green mango leaves; and to the dwaja stambham are tied dried mango leaves and a whisp of darbha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*). Two months before the Fire-walking a 'Koḍi' (flag) is raised on this stambham, which remains there till the third day after the Fire-walking, when it is lowered. On the day it is lowered the coronation of Dharmaraja is celebrated, and the poor are fed. The Dharmaraja temple with which the Mavhalli Tank ceremony is connected is situated in Kalassipalya, to the north-west of the tank. The temple faces east. In the Garba Griham (Holy of Holies) are six stone idols of Draupadi and the five brothers. The dwaja stambham with darbha grass, the bali-pitam and the mango leaf toranam are present as at Blackpalli. In front of the temple is an open square to accommodate the spectators of the drama. The stage, a raised stone platform, is on the east side of the square, and close to it a tall stout post about twenty-five feet high with a small platform on top; the post can be ascended by projecting steps which resemble the steps by which the bears can climb in the bear pit at the Zoo. This is called Arjuna Tapas tree and on the top of it, in the course of the drama, Arjuna does Tapas (penance). On the south side of the square is the prostrate figure of Duryodhana, the king, who persecuted the five brothers, and who was eventually slain by Bhima. This figure, twenty feet long, is made of hardened mud. For the festival it is painted. In its right hand it holds a gadhai or war mace. In the north-east corner of the square on a pole is a hideous red mask, painted scarlet, with formidable fangs. The pole is draped with a saffron stained cloth round which are twined the entrails of a sheep, which was sacrificed there on the evening preceding the fire-walking ceremony. This gruesome effigy represents Aravan son of Arjuna, who offered himself as a sacrifice at the beginning of the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sacrifice of Arāvan.—As is well known, the Pāṇḍavas had to go into exile for thirteen years, the last of which was to be spent incognito. They had carried out the terms of the contract on their part, and wished to be restored to their own patrimony of Indraprastha: The Kaurava brothers were unwilling to allow this. All negotiations failed, and the last ambassador, Krishna's,

# — DHARMA RAJA TEMPLE —



DHARMA RAJA KOVIL STREET





*Idols*

Inside the temple in the Mulasthanam are two idols of stone one of Dharmaraja and one of Draupadi. For processional purposes Dharmaraja and Draupadi are represented by two Utsava Vighraha (Festival images) of metal (Panchaloha or five metals), small and finely worked; these are carried on a platform borne on the shoulders of men. The Mavhalli ceremony is also patronized by the Utsava Vighraha from a Dharmaraja temple in Shoolay. There are also six other images of wood.

(1) Draupadi, painted scarlet.

(2) Bhima, also painted scarlet with a club in his right hand and a small circular targe in his left.

(3) Arjuna, painted green, with an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left.

(4) Nakula, painted a flesh colour pink, with a sword in his right hand and a targe like Bhima's in his left.

(5) Sahadeva, painted yellow, with a book (Sastra) in his left hand, and his right hand raised and open, the index finger bent to meet the thumb and the other three fingers raised.<sup>1</sup>

(6) Krishna, ally of the five brothers, a seated figure, painted green like Arjuna. These six figures are at Ulsoor carried in procession in front of the Utsava Vighraha of Dharmaraja and Draupadi; all idols, including the prostrate figure of Duryodhana bear the Namam mark.

A similar figure of Potaraja, painted scarlet, with a sword in right hand and a bandicoot (peruchali), hanging head downwards, in the left, is carried from the Temple in front of the 'Karagam' and stands guard over it while it is worshipped. Along with this is carried a metal 'Chakram' about eight inches in diameter on the end of a long rod.

*The Karagam*

Few Hindu rites are complete without the consecration and worship of a sacred vessel of earth or metal. The origin and significance of this practice affords an

life was attempted. There was no alternative left but war, and both sides spared no effort to win. An auspicious day for the commencement of hostilities was wanted by the Kauravas, as the side which wanted war. Sahadeva, the last Pandava, was alone capable of finding this out unerringly. Duryodhana sought his assistance and, being the most competent in that branch of learning, Sahadeva might well decline. The moment appointed was the actual position of the new moon on Margasira (December-January). The armoury could be opened only after a suitable sacrifice. What is more suitable than a perfect man, a perfection of beauty, youth and health? Such a one was found in Aravan, a son of Arjuna by a Naga princess, and reputed invincible. Duryodhana sought his assistance and sure enough he had it. The terms were, he was to cut himself limb after limb and dedicate it to the dire goddess of war, without a tear, much less a groan. He did it all, with his own right hand. When he was about to cut off his head last of all, the goddess was pleased and asked him to name a boon. He asked the benign goddess to let him have the satisfaction of seeing the war, although he was not to have the pleasure of playing his part in it. They hoisted his head upon a column in the field of Kurukshetra and there it stood, a terrible, though not always silent, witness of the sanguinary battle of eighteen days. The huge head, blood smirched and decorated with the entrails of the victim that one sees in Draupadi or Dharmaraja temples is the terrible effigy of this magnificent self-sacrificing youth.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

<sup>1</sup> 'Upadesamudra' as it is called, i.e. an attitude of exposition.

interesting field for conjecture. In the Dharmaraja festival on the day of the Fire-walking a brass-vessel (Karagam) is decorated with a tower of jessamine about four feet high. It is taken from the Temple at about 4 p.m. and placed in a field near the site of the Fire-walking and the wooden image of Potaraja stands guard over . At Mavhalli it is placed in a Mutt (Konala Matam) near the Lal Bagh. Till the procession from the Temple arrives, the Karagam is worshipped by those who have made vows to pass through the fire. These men form up in two lines, and between the two lines first one and then another dances in frantic religious ecstasy, every now and then prostrating before the sacred vessel in front of which camphor is kept burning. All the devotees are bare bodied, heavily garlanded with jessamine, smothered in turmeric powder and wearing turmeric stained veshtis (dhotis). On the day of Fire-walking they are supposed to keep a strict fast and to bathe seven times in seven different wells. Close to the Potaraja is the bamboo rod surmounted by the Chakram above referred to.

The devotees chant 'Govinda, Govinda, Govinda' or 'Gopala, Gopala, Gopala' and their chant is accompanied by a double tom-tom known as 'Pambai', and a metallic rattle called 'Selambu.'

After the fire walking is over, the karagam and images are taken back in procession to the Temple.

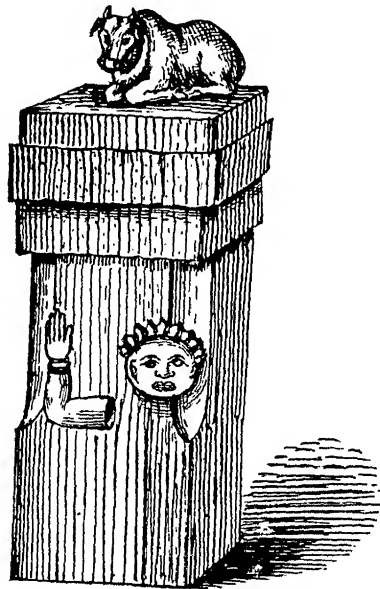
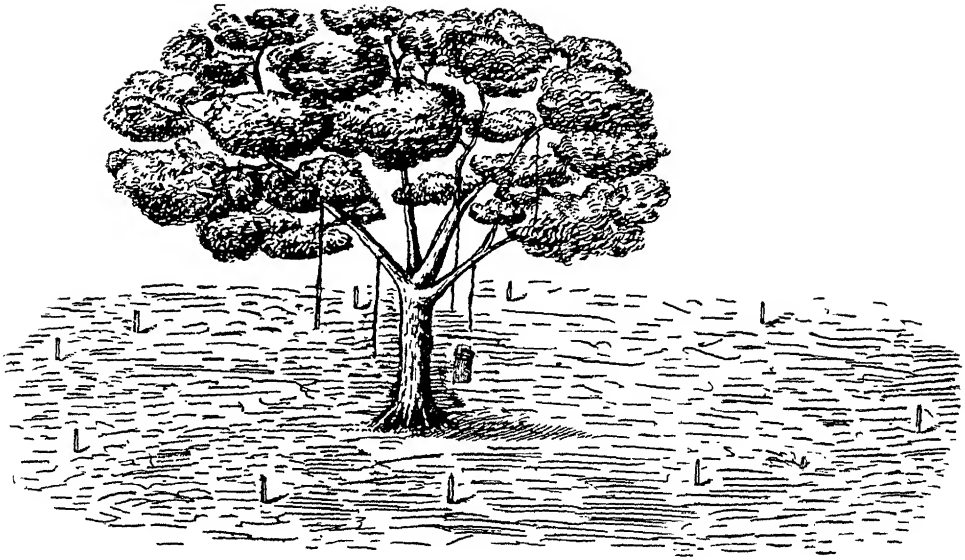
### *The Agni Gundam*

In a roped enclosure measuring about 24 paces by 16, from which the crowd is excluded, is a square 'pit' dug some four inches below the surrounding ground and thirty feet long by twenty-five feet broad. In this pit bonfires are kept burning for about three hours, the fuel being supplied by the devotees. At about 6 p.m., the glowing embers of these bonfires are raked over and spread evenly over the surface of the square. Big pieces of burning timber are removed. Along the south side of the square at Ulsoor, and the west side at Mavhalli runs a shallow trench about four feet wide and a few inches deep, and this is filled with water. At each corner of the square is placed a big piece of the pumkin called Kalyana Pusinikai, the interior of which is red. These pieces are said to be in lieu of the quarters of a sacrificed sheep, and their object is to safe-guard those who cross the fire from injury. The entrance to the roped enclosure at Ulsoor is on the north side. At Mavhalli it is on the eastern side. Through this, just about the hour of sunset bursts the crowd of devotees, headed by the Karagam, the car bearing the Utsava Vighraha of Dharmaraja and Draupadi, the figure of Potaraja and the Chakram. The procession first rushes round the fire-pit the way of the Sun (clock-wise); then the circle once completed, they rush across the burning embers to the trench, then running along the ground to the right of the trench they pass through the fire a second and a third time. The whole thing is over in a few seconds. No one is a bit the worse, the devotees suddenly become sane, and laugh and talk like ordinary people. Women and girls are not allowed to cross the embers. Infants in arms of both sexes are carried across by their anxious fathers, and little boys not yet in their teens are led across by the hand of their elders. Both at Ulsoor and at Mavhalli some thirty persons passed through the fire and not a trace of burn or blister could be found on leg or foot.

F. J. RICHARDS.

### *A Shrine at Kodakal*

WHILE touring in the Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district, I chanced to come upon a shrine under a large spreading Indian banyan tree on a rising ground, one mile north-







east of Kodakal village. The banyan tree, being a conspicuous object in the landscape, has been taken as a bench mark by the Trigonometrical Survey. The height of the place is mentioned in the topographical survey sheets as  $\Delta$  8,083 feet above sea-level.

The shrine is a very rude one, and it consists of a roughly chiselled solid square pillar of stone, firmly fixed in the ground, with about five feet of it left projecting above the surface. The front two edges of the stone on the plane facing the east have been partially truncated, and on the plane itself is a representation of a human head, with bristly hairs and the half of a hand in an upturned posture, both embossed in relief (see figure 2). Overlying this stone pillar and perfectly fitting it are three more flat stones surmounted on the top with an idol of Basava (the bull). This shrine is located under the banyan tree at a distance of twelve yards. The whole is surrounded by an irregular circle, formed of ten upright stones more or less of a rude workmanship and all tapering to a point. The one facing the idol to the east is a trifle taller than the others which are about three feet high. The other nine stones are not placed at regular intervals. Six of them occupy the half of the circumference of the circle, while only three form the other half (see figure 1). The circle formed thus is fairly large and its diameter is nearly fifty yards. All the above is in the open with no building or house in the vicinity.

On inquiry, I learnt from the villagers that this shrine was called the Kadu Malleswara temple, and it belonged to the villagers of Kodakal; that the stone pillar in the centre having the image of Basava was worshipped every day by the village Pujari. Now and then 'yedais', i.e. sacrifices, were offered to the deity. No jatras take place during the year in this locality.

Neither in that village nor in the neighbouring villages were there any who could enlighten me on the following points:—

1. The finding of the human head and the portion of the hand only on the stone pillar.
2. The object of surrounding the shrine with ten upright stones placed more or less in a circle.
3. The purpose served by the shrine in an out-of-the-way place on a rise.

I therefore bring the above points to the consideration of the members of the Mythic Society for solution. Personally, I am of opinion that out of the ten stones forming the circle, the tall one facing the idol to the east probably represents the Dwajastambham, and the other nine represent the Navagraham deities. The shrine from its solitary situation beneath an Indian banyan tree may have been used by the people to drive away 'evil spirits' from persons that may have become possessed with them. The Malnad people more than those of the plains are susceptible to belief in the power of the evil spirits in affecting the life history of persons, and they may therefore have constructed a shrine like this in a wilderness to propitiate the deities that are supposed to reign in the nine houses in the horoscope of the person possessed. They may therefore have symbolized the deities by the nine stones set round the shrine in the form of a circle. What the solitary head and the hand on the stone pillar represents is a mystery.

October 8, 1910.

P. SAMPAT IYENGAR.

### QUERY

IN the eleventh chapter of the Bhagavad Gita, Arjuna, bewildered with the sight of the 'Viswarūpa' (Omnipotent form) of the Lord of the Universe, entreats Him—Sri Krishna—to resume His original usual shape, which is described in verse 46, as a four-armed one.

तेनैवरूपेण चतुर्भुजेन

How is it then that we find in all the temples of Southern India, with the exception of that at Janardhanam near Warkali, Travancore, the idols of Krishna—both the 'Moolavar' (fixed stone idol) and the 'Utsavar' (the metallic image of everyday worship used in processions, etc.)—represented with only two hands instead of four?

At Janardhanam in the Travancore State, which is considered a very holy place of pilgrimage by the Hindus, the image of Sri Krishna has four hands in conformity with what is mentioned in the Bhagavad Gita.

October 8, 1910.

P. SAMPAT IYENGAR.

# THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.  
Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on or before July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at 12 annas per copy to non-members.

7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.

8. Excursions to places of Historical interest, will be arranged and intimated to members.

9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.

10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in March.

11. Framing and alteration of Rules rests entirely with the Committee.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, }  
F. J. RICHARDS, } *Joint Secretaries.*

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## THE LIGHT THROWN BY THE SACRIFICES TO THE VILLAGE DEITIES IN SOUTH INDIA ON THE ORIGINAL IDEA OF SACRIFICE

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS

THE idea of sacrifice that is now almost universally prevalent is that it is the offering of a gift to the deity. The fruits and flowers offered to the various deities in India are undoubtedly regarded as gifts to them. And that is the view held of the animal sacrifices to the village deities. They are gifts offered to propitiate them, when they are angry or to keep them in a good temper. They are supposed to eat the flesh and drink the blood and consume the rice and plantains. And that is not regarded as inconsistent with the fact that the flesh of the animals as well as the fruit and rice are actually eaten by the worshippers. The theory is that the deities consume the essence—in Tamil the *Sarum*<sup>1</sup>—and leave the outward and visible part to their devotees. In the language of mediæval European philosophy the deities take the substance and the worshippers the accidents.

<sup>1</sup> This is a Sanskrit word borrowed and used in the same sense in Tamil.—S. K.

This is the existing theory: but is it the original idea of animal sacrifice? Was the animal killed in sacrifice in order to be offered as a gift to the deity? I propose this evening to examine the ritual observed in the animal sacrifices of the village deities in South India and to consider whether some features in the ritual and ceremonial do not point to another idea which is more primitive and at the same time far deeper and more spiritual.

Let me first give a brief account of the cult of the village deities and describe the main features of an ordinary typical sacrifice.

There are three things which broadly distinguish the cult of the village deities from what is ordinarily known as popular Hinduism, the cults of Siva and Vishnu in all their various forms.

1. Firstly, the village deities, with very few exceptions, are female. In the Tamil country, it is true, almost all the village goddesses have male attendants, called Madurai-Viran or Munadian, who are supposed to guard the shrine and carry out the commands of the goddesses; and one male deity, Iyenar, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night watchman of the village. In the Telugu country, too, there is a being called Potu-Razu, who figures sometimes as the brother and sometimes as the husband of village goddesses, and sometimes as an attendant. But with the exception of Iyenar, and one or two other deities, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not contravene the general principle that village deities are female and not male.

2. Then, in the second place, the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs and fowls are freely offered to them, sometimes in thousands. In the Tamil country, this custom is curiously modified by the influence of Brahmanism, which has imbued the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious, and it is to be remarked that no animal sacrifices are ever offered to Iyenar. Madurai-Viran accepts them eagerly; but Iyenar is regarded as far too good a being to be pleased by the sight of bloodshed.

3. Then, in the third place, the Pujaris, i.e. the men who perform the worship and officiate as priests, are not Brahmans, but are drawn from all other castes.

These three features, then, distinguish the worship of the village deities from the worship of Siva and Vishnu, since in the latter the officiating priests are nearly always Brahmans, no animal sacrifices are ever offered, and the principal deities are male and not female. The village deities are not, then, to be regarded as offshoots of the Aryan deities: they represent a form of religion that was widely prevalent in India long before the Aryan invasion.

The names of the village deities are legion and their characters and tempers vary considerably; and there is no law of uniformity for the ritual of their worship. I have seldom found exactly the same rites observed in any two groups of villages. At the same time there are certain main features that are characteristic of the whole system and which may fairly be regarded as evidence of its origin and meaning.

The following account of a village sacrifice will give a fair idea of the general type of rites and ceremonies prevalent throughout South India in the propitiation of village deities. Let us suppose that an attack of cholera or small-pox has broken out in a village of South India. We will take a village in the Telugu country, in one of the more backward districts, where life is lived under more primitive conditions than in places where large towns and railways and the influence of the Brahmans have tended to change old-fashioned ideas and customs. The village deity, in this particular village, is called Peddamma, the great mother. The epidemic is a sign that she is angry and requires to be propitiated. So, a collection is made for the expenses of a festival, or a rich man offers to pay all expenses, and a propitious day is selected, which in this village may be any day except Sunday or Thursday. Then the potter of the village is instructed to make a clay image of the great mother, and the carpenter to make a small wooden cart, and a he-buffalo is chosen as the chief victim for the sacrifice. When the appointed day arrives, the buffalo is sprinkled all over with yellow turmeric, while garlands of margosa leaves are hung round its neck and tied to its horns. At about 2 p.m., it is conducted round the village in procession to the sound of music and the beating of tom-toms. The two sections of the Pariahs or outcastes, the Malas and Madigas, take the leading part in this sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Madiga goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that 'the he-buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming'. The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Malas and Madigas, who form the procession. By about 8 p.m., this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village, and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess.

Various ceremonies are then performed which have no special bearing on my subject, and finally the image of Peddamma is deposited beneath the canopy and a large heap of rice is placed in front of it, with a pot of toddy and some cheroots. The great sacrifice then begins. A lamb is first worshipped, and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one



of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. The *Asadis* or Mala priests then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The he-buffalo is brought forward, and the Madigas kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another village should take away and carry home even a small part of the blood, in which case that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover, nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply 'It is the custom'. But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus and Canarese alike, and it seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.

This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered and, especially, in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the idea is, as I have said above, that the goddess takes the essence, and leaves the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about 3 a.m. next morning and then begins another important part of the ceremonies. Some of the rice, soaked in the blood of the ram, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mala, and its liver is placed in his mouth, while another Mala takes the basket. A procession is then formed with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement, and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the ryots and Malas, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out 'Bali, Bali!' and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits,

and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing. At about 10 a.m., a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mala boys, 'Siddhalu' or 'the innocents', as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth, and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asadis, who have been, for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brahmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Madigas, the lowest section of the outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about 3 p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some boiled rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washerman, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Malas and Madigas, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished. The shrine is then removed, and at about 7 p.m., another series of ceremonies begin. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some boiled rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Madigas carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig, who is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. After this follows the final ceremony.

The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Madiga takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the lamp still lighted on the top; and they all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the man carrying the buffalo's head, next

the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village: there the Asadis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments, and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Madiga, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess or much charity towards their neighbours!

Now, there are four points<sup>1</sup> in this account to which I wish specially to direct your attention.

1. The first is the fact that the chief victim, the male buffalo, is treated as a deity and paid divine honours. It is sprinkled with turmeric and adorned with garlands, and then, as it is conducted in procession through the village, the people come out of their houses, do puja to it and pour water over its feet. Puja is also paid to the lamb killed in sacrifice.

2. The second is the ceremonial feast<sup>2</sup> upon the flesh. In most cases the carcass is simply taken to the Mala quarter and there eaten by the Malas. But in many cases there is a ceremonial feast at the place of sacrifice. In this particular village some of the meat is given to five little Mala boys, *Siddhalu*, who are covered with a cloth to protect them from the evil eye or from evil spirits, and then some more of the flesh is given to the Asadis and eaten on the spot.

3. The third point is the use made of the liver and entrails.<sup>3</sup> The intestines of the lamb killed in sacrifice are put round the neck of one of the Malas, its liver is put in his mouth and then he is regarded as inspired by the goddess.

4. The fourth point is the treatment of the blood. Before the image is brought from the house of the potter and placed under the canopy, it is sprinkled with the blood of a ram offered in sacrifice. Then the blood of one of the victims is allowed to flow on to the heap of cooked rice before the image, and this rice soaked in

<sup>1</sup> This is not worship according to the prevalent ideas. The washing, the turmeric and saffron cloth are signs of purification. These are features common to all classes in this country and for all occasions of holiness.—S. K.

<sup>2</sup> This is the equivalent of the higher 'prasada', a Sanskrit word meaning propitiation or pleasing. The distribution signifies distribution of the god's favour.—S. K.

<sup>3</sup> The significance of this is, even according to the primitive idea of the sacrificers, the acceptance of the sacrifice. Who can accept this? He alone in whom the goddess manifests herself.—S. K.

blood is at a later stage carried in solemn procession round the village and sprinkled on the ground and over the houses so as to form a sort of cordon of blood round the village and a bulwark of blood before every house. And then once more at the conclusion of the ceremonies the cattle are driven over the head of the pig and wash their feet in his blood, while rice soaked in the blood of a lamb offered in sacrifice is thrown over them to protect them against evil spirits,<sup>1</sup> and great care is taken lest the earth soaked in the blood should be stolen by the men of another village.

This treatment of the blood is a very striking feature in the various sacrifices offered to the village deities and assumes various forms. Often it is sprinkled on the gateway of the village. Often too, it is applied to the worshippers themselves. As soon as the victim is killed they run forward, dip their fingers in the blood and then smear the blood on their foreheads, breasts and arms. Sometimes, again, the pujaris drink the blood. At Trichinopoly there is a horrid ceremony performed every year during the festival of Kulumai-Amman. The pujari drinks about a quart of blood from a large silver bowl and then pretends to suck the blood of about a thousand lambs, as they are offered in sacrifice and then handed up to him with their throats cut. Another striking method of dealing with the blood is seen in connexion with the propitiation of the spirit of the boundary stone in some villages. First a lamb is killed, the head cut off and the blood collected in a new earthen pot filled with boiled rice. The pot is put in a frame of ropes and taken by a pujari to a stone planted in the ground, about four feet high, called *ellaikal* (i.e. boundary stone), some three hundred yards off. A crowd of villagers run after him with wild yells, but no tom-toms or pipes are played. When he comes to the boundary stone, he runs round it thrice, and the third time throws the pot over his shoulder behind him on to another smaller stone, about two feet high and some five or six feet in circumference, with stands at the foot of the *ellaikal*. The earthen pot is dashed to pieces and the rice and blood scatter over the two stones and all around them. The pujari then runs quickly back to the booth, without looking behind him, followed by the crowd in dead silence. The man who carries the pot is supposed to be possessed by Karumbai, and is in a frantic state as he runs to the boundary stone, and has to be held up by some of the crowd to prevent his falling to the ground. The pouring out of the rice and blood is regarded as a propitiation of an evil spirit residing in the

<sup>1</sup> The blood of the victim when the protecting deity accepts it acquires a potency to ward off evil spirits. This is the reason why 'bali' (offering) is made to the innumerable evil spirits in balls of rice soaked in the blood of the victim.—S, K,

boundary stone, called Ellai-Karuppai, and of all the evil and malignant spirits of the neighbourhood, who are its attendants.

Now, what possible meaning can be given to these four features of the sacrifices, viz. the worship of the buffalo, the sacrificial feast, the use of the intestines, and these various methods of treating the blood, on the theory that sacrifices are simply gifts offered to the deity? Are they not on this theory wholly irrational<sup>1</sup> and unintelligible? If the animal is simply offered as a gift to the deity, why is the buffalo worshipped, why should the worshippers eat the flesh of the victim, why should they sprinkle the blood on their bodies or on their houses, or round the village, why should they drink the blood, why should they try to prevent its being stolen, and above all what possible meaning can we give to the disgusting ceremony of using the entrails as a necklace and putting the liver in the pujari's mouth?

On the gift theory all these details seem to me to be utterly inexplicable. They seem rather to be relics of a totally different idea of sacrifice that has long ago passed out of the minds of the worshippers.

The late Professor Robertson-Smith in his book on the *Religion of the Semites* propounded a theory as to the origin and meaning of animal sacrifices among the Semitic tribes, which has since been abundantly confirmed by the researches of anthropologists in other parts of the world. According to this theory the animal slain in sacrifice among the Semitic tribes was originally not a gift to the deity worshipped, but a representative of the deity itself; and the object of killing the animal in sacrifice was not to offer a gift, but to enable the worshippers to hold communion with the spirit represented by the victim, by eating its flesh and applying to themselves its blood or to secure the presence of the deity by shedding its blood upon the ground. In the Jewish Scriptures it is said 'The blood is the life', 'The life of the flesh is the blood' (Levit. xvii. 11). And in accordance with this idea the blood of the victim was regarded as the life of the deity represented.

Let us apply this theory to the rites used in the sacrifices to the village deities that are so inexplicable on the gift theory.

Take, to begin with, the feature in the ceremonial that seems at first sight the most unmeaning of all—the use made of the entrails.

<sup>1</sup> The rationale of all these four features (however irrational they seem to us) is propitiation. The village deity is a guardian evil spirit constantly exerting herself in her good office of protection against innumerable evil spirits of varying degrees of potency, only so long as she is duly propitiated. This is the common feature of a variety of practices all over South India. This interpretation finds support in the primitive features that survive in higher sacrifices.—S. K.

What do the entrails represent? Obviously they are the parts of the body that seem most intimately connected with life, and they are put round the neck of the pujari and the liver is put in his mouth in order to convey to him the life of the victim. He is, as it were, clothed upon with its life and lays hold of it with his mouth. And when that is done, then he becomes inspired by the spirit of the deity.

So, too, the buffalo is worshipped because it is the representative of the goddess. The sacrificial meal on the flesh of the victim is a means of holding communion with the spirit it embodies. The worshipper is not eating a gift which he has offered, but absorbing the life of a spiritual power. For the same reason he drinks the blood, smears the blood on his body, sprinkles it on his house and draws a cordon of the blood around the village. The blood is the life, and the original object of all these weird rites was to secure the presence of a supernatural life, to put houses and cattle and the whole village under its protection and to enable the worshipper to strengthen his own personal union and communion with the deity. The idea that the actual drinking or application of blood will create a blood relationship and alliance among men is widely prevalent among primitive races all over the world. It is only another form of the same idea, that the drinking of blood and application of blood can create a blood relationship and alliance between men and the deities they worship.

The sacrifices, then, to the village deities in South India seem to have originated in that primitive form of religion, commonly known as TOTEMISM, which still survives in some parts of the world. A species of animals, e.g. the buffalo, is regarded by a particular clan, or tribe, or race, as an embodiment of the deity, or as animated by some supernatural power. The species as a whole becomes an object of worship. In the technical language of Anthropology it is the Totem of the tribe, and the great purpose of the sacrifice is to cement and strengthen the alliance between the human clan and the animal clan. The way in which this is done is through some application of the blood of the Totem, or by, in some way, coming into contact with that which was specially connected with its life, or by partaking of its flesh. Under ordinary circumstances it would be absolutely forbidden to kill an animal of the Totem tribe. It would be regarded as the murder of a kinsman; but on special occasions it is solemnly done in order to shed the blood and partake of the flesh, and so strengthen the alliance. The blood is regarded as the life, and when the blood of a member of the Totem tribe of animals is shed, the life of the Totem is brought to the spot where it is needed, it can be applied to the worshippers as a bond of union, and then the

union can be still further cemented by the feast upon the flesh, by which the spirit of the Totem is absorbed and assimilated by its human kinsmen. The object of the animal sacrifice, therefore, was not in any sense to offer a gift, but to obtain communion with the totem-spirit. And this seems to be the original idea underlying the sacrifices to the village deities in India. They originally expressed the instinctive craving of the human soul for fuller life through communion with God. The forms in which this instinctive craving expresses itself are crude and even revolting. The ideas expressed are vague and inarticulate. Yet we may see here the beginning and ending of all true religion—the desire for a vital union with God.

It is the same idea that finds expression in the profoundest speculations of the Vedantist philosophy, in the mystic sects of Muhammadanism, in the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith and in every great system of religion in every age and every land. The study of comparative religion makes it ever clearer and clearer that all religions are essentially 'a prayer for life' and a longing for communion with God.

#### THE ORIGINAL IDEA OF SACRIFICE<sup>1</sup>

SIR,

I READ with great interest the account of the meeting of the Mythic Society when Dr. Whitehead read a paper on 'Light thrown by sacrifices to village Deities on the original idea of sacrifice'. I was not present at the meeting but gather that the Lord Bishop leans towards what is known as the Communion Theory, i.e. that by means of sacrifice the celebrant is enabled to enter into mystic union with the God. It is interesting to learn that this conclusion has been reached from his Lordship's study of village cults, and perhaps, if attention be directed to other religions, much light will be thrown on the subject.

In the main I agree with Dr. Whitehead's conclusions, but I think that one aspect of sacrifice has been overlooked, viz. that with primitive faiths it held a sort of magical significance. The blood of the victim was supposed to satisfy, through its aroma or 'sweet savour', the appetite of the God worshipped. We find, at first, the blood of the victim being poured on the image of the God itself. The Mexicans used to daub their images with blood drawn from their ears and legs; the priests of Attis used to draw blood from their arms for the deity; Bible students will remember how the priests of Baal used to hack themselves with knives 'till the blood came'. M. Reclus in his 'Primitive Folk' describes a peculiar custom of despatching a victim by a blow to the heart and of the priests placing a wooden image into the gaping wound that 'the mannikin might be gorged with the blood'.

No doubt, as the learned lecturer suggested, the reason for these practices lay in the belief that blood was the life of the victim and therefore vitalizing to the image smeared with it. Later on the aroma of the blood was considered sufficient for the Ka, or Double, or spiritual counterpart of the image, and along with this idea rose the magical significance

<sup>1</sup> These two interesting notes on 'Sacrifice' signed X.Y.Z., and M. L. Forbes, are taken from the *Bangalore Daily Post* newspaper in which they appeared shortly after the Lord Bishop of Madras had read his learned paper on sacrifice before the society.—ED.

of the bloody sacrifice. Probably the sacrifices were at first human, as in the worship of the goddess Kali, animals being made surrogates in later times. As blood could gratify the Ka of an image, so could it feed the shade of a dead person, hence was used in the magical invocation of spirits. This bloody sacrifice figures largely in the diabolical books on 'Black Magic' which found so much favour with the necromancers of the middle ages and earlier times. Students of such literature will call to mind the Grimoire ascribed to Honourius III and the Goetic work 'Clavicoladi Salomone ridolta', with the horrible, bloody sacrifices mentioned therein. Those familiar with their Homer will remember the magical sacrifice which Ulysses performed in Hades for the purpose of obtaining information from the shade of Tiresias.

Sometimes the flesh of the wretched victim was burnt, no doubt in order to tickle the nostrils of the God and to provide it with gaseous food appropriate to its supposed ethereal existence. The ancient Egyptians used to offer food to the doubles of their gods and dead heroes, and the same custom is found everywhere, the idea being that the God lives, not on the actual substance of the thing offered, but on its 'double'. In searching for the primal significance of sacrifice, I am of the opinion that this point should not be overlooked, viz. that the sacrifice was originally intended to be a food for the God. The mystical idea of communion with the Deity is a metaphysical conception that implies later development and seems to have arisen from the worship of corn and wine gods. It would be interesting to know the opinions of others who have studied the subject.

X. Y. Z.

### SACRIFICE AND PRAYER

THE origin of sacrifice is obscure, as the Bishop of Madras pointed out at the last meeting of the Mythic Society. I was privileged to hear his interesting paper on the original idea of sacrificial offerings, and was more especially struck by the admission that it was almost impossible to come to any definite conclusion with regard to the original idea. Sacrifice has always played a large part in the religions of the world. It is the earliest devotional act on record, and clearly the most important, and it seems strange that in the main, little is known about its origin beyond what is gleaned from the customs handed down from antiquity. After pointing out the principal features of the sacrificial rites that had come under his observation in Southern India, Dr. Whitehead appeared to think that they thickened, rather than elucidated the mystery, and that the original idea was utterly lost, buried under a cairn of ritual that preserved only the later ideas of communion, gift and abnegation. In view of the fact that the further back we probe into the mists and shadows of antiquity, the more deeply steeped in ignorance we find the mind of man, and from the early Semitic traditions that appear to have drifted into the lore of all nations, the original idea underlying sacrifice appears to have been fear. In his infancy man undoubtedly feared God with a fear that knew nothing of love. The terrible and jealous God who disturbed the peace and plenitude of nature by such manifestations of His power, as earthquakes, famine, pestilence, and sudden death from His bright lightnings, are incapable of inspiring any emotion save fear and servility. We need not then wonder or inquire how man came to believe that it was blood and blood alone that would satisfy Him, and strove to please Him by offering the choicest lambs and bulls and even children, to prevent His appalling raids on life in the form of pestilence and famine, so common in the East.

In the West, we have come to regard ceremonial sacrifice as futile, a criminal and stupid taking of life to no purpose; and some modern thinkers refuse to believe that



it was established or sanctioned by God. However that may be, it does not seem evident from the recorded story that our first parents in any way worshipped God according to rites afterwards introduced, so long as they lived in Eden. The relation was one of communion rather than worship. Even after the fall, when judgement is being delivered and the guilty couple are expelled, to live as best they may under the new conditions, there is no hint that they were commanded to make amends as far as they could by sacrifice. Cain and Abel did indeed offer sacrifices of the fruit of their toil, but the statement reads very much as though the custom rose from a desire on the part of the young men to propitiate and gain the favour of the God who had cursed the ground for their sake, so that it was not easy to recover anything from it, rather than to redeem their sins, for the same story relates, that not until the third generation did men begin to call upon the name of the Lord.

The idea of ceremonial sacrifice is disturbing to a modern mind, because it fails to discover its good purpose. It is false and useless as an article of exchange, and as a gift valueless. Even the terrible God of the Jews, represented as demanding sacrifice for every petty shortcoming, cries out against the senseless slaughter of sheep and goats by an evil and ignorant people. 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices, unto me? saith the Lord: I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of rams, or of the goats. Bring no more vain oblations.'

It is not easy to understand how man came to believe that the unnecessary slaughter of innocents could benefit him or contribute to his increase in anything but gross cruelty and superstition, as it did in the case of Gentile nations, whose practices became an abomination. It had its root doubtless in the obscure but certain knowledge that man 'must strive unto blood' that is, to the utmost of his power, if he would wrest his desires from unwilling powers arrayed against him in hard conditions, and in the belief that he must pacify a terrible God, misrepresented by his dark mind as thirsting for blood and vengeance. But sacrifice, of itself, has no power to produce anything, and it is astonishing that the majority of men can still place faith in its practice. The forces cannot be cajoled; they are without human attributes. But the resolve that makes the sacrifice seem necessary to the believing mind, can certainly evolve success out of the most hopeless state, and produce a miracle. No gain, or state, or reformation was ever brought about without sacrifice. The lives, or time, or money given to a cause are but the expression of the 'I will' that never yet failed of its purpose. Not by Christs' death on the cross, did He give life to the world, that was the result of the friction His doctrines created, but the force of character that could carry on the plan in spite of every hindrance, even through the agonizing finish of the last fight, and failed not in courage, and endurance, and faith even in that awful hour could not possibly fail of its purpose, and did not. We are too prone to measure with our eyes, to form our judgements by what we see. Behind the works of our hands, are the real works that push us on our way. These are the prayers, the sacrifices. Shall we not pray then for what we desire? Yes, but prayer must be powerful; it must expend itself; it must have the fearless insistence of Jacob. 'I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.' Begging is useless; fear hopeless; and the blood of bulls and goats of no account. A day will come when the sacrifice of the powerful potent Self, will be recognized as the only sacrifice that claims attention from God. No substitute ever has, or ever will serve as a substitute for it.

M. L. FORBES.

# 'THE RUINS OF VIJAYANAGAR'

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY THE REV. A. R. SLATER<sup>1</sup>

DURING a period of 230 years the hordes of the Muhammadan power were prevented from overrunning Southern India by the forces of the Hindu power, united under the Vijayanagar kings. Previous to the existence of this empire, Southern India had been dominated by the ancient Hindu dynasties, the Cholas, Pándiyáns and Hoyalas. The foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in 1336 was the result of the combination of three states—Warangal, Dwarasamudra and Anegundi. The empire quickly developed into power, as the near approach of the Muhammadan demanded a united front on the part of the Hindu kingdoms. Under Mahmud the Muhammadan kingdom had become a great power and threatened to add the kingdoms of the South to their conquest. The history of Vijayanagar is the history of a brave attempt to stem this almost irresistible tide.

The kingdom appears to have been founded by two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who had taken service with the Rajah, of Anegundi, a fortress on the north side of the River Tungabadra. After the Raja's death a deputy was placed in position of authority, but finding his task too difficult, he appointed the minister Harihara to rule instead. Seeing that the natural features of the land on the southern side of the river were easy of fortification, he decided to make this the site of the new city and soon raised almost impregnable defences. The city rapidly developed, kings sought his aid and offered their services, a large trade with other nations, especially Portugal, sprang into being. So dependent was Portugal on the great trade in horses that on the fall of Vijayanagar her commercial activities were almost paralyzed. On the expansion of the empire it was necessary to provide for the government of the districts, so Viceroys

<sup>1</sup> This lecture was illustrated by sixty lantern slides made from recent photographs of the ruins taken by the author and several other members of the Society. Four of these photographs are here reproduced.

directly responsible to the Vijayanagar kings were installed at Madura, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Seringapatam, Penukonda and other places.

The glory of the city is well described by the old embassies from the European courts, Paes, Nuniz and others, all of whom agree that its wealth was enormous, its beauty almost unsurpassed, its buildings of striking grandeur. Abdur Rassack, an ambassador from Persia, says: 'The city of Bidjanagar (Vijayanagar) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world.' Another account says: 'The streets and squares are very wide. They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds. . . . There is infinite trade in this city.' Paes, a Portuguese who visited Vijayanagar in 1520, gives a picture in his *Chronicles* of the city at the height of its power under Deva Raja, the greatest of all its kings: 'What I saw seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there were many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes, and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich fruit bearing trees. The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down, for fear it should be thought fabulous. This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions, such as rice, wheat, grains, etc. The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them.' The royal state of the king is a constant source of wonder to these visitors, and while we are bound to take the numbers they give with some reserve, the striking agreement between them must convince us that they do not overestimate the grandeur of the monarch. 'The king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchens. A like number more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they shall voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them.' His army is said to have numbered over one million foot-soldiers, and one thousand elephants 'in their size, resembling mountains and in their form resembling devils'. 'The Hindus are all naked and bare-footed. They carry a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows. Elephants are greatly used in battle. Large scythes are attached to the trunks and tusks of elephants and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. The Sultan, riding on a golden saddle, wears a habit embroidered with sapphires and on his pointed head-dress a large diamond: he also

carries a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires and three swords mounted in gold.' A study of these old records give one the impression of enormous wealth and power which marked out the city as one of the largest and most beautiful in the world.

It is believed that previous to the founding of the City of Vijayanagar there existed a town which is identified with Kishkinda, a place mentioned in the Ramayana. Two brothers of the Monkey race, Vali and Sugriva, ruled this town, but as the result of a quarrel, Sugriva was driven to the hills on the bank of the Pampa, probably the Puranic name for Tungabadra, where lived a holy Rishi named Matanga. For some time he remained here in company with Hanuman the Monkey god. Rama, when journeying in search of Sita who had been carried off to Ceylon by Ravana, heard that Sugriva could give him news of her. The exiled brother related how Sita, having seen him as she was being conveyed over that mountain, had dropped one of her garments and her jewels which he had kept in a cave. The place where this is supposed to have happened is still marked with colour-wash and is the object of much devotion to the worshippers who attend the annual festivals. The story relates how Hanuman discovered Sita in Ceylon and built a bridge from Ramesvara to enable them to rescue her. The huge boulders which form so prominent a part of the landscape of the city are said to be the remains of the materials gathered by the tribes of monkeys for the purpose of building the causeway.

Sewell, in his *Forgotten Empire*, points out as evidence, of an earlier town, a small shrine built entirely of stone, situated near the village of Hampi and probably dating from the seventh century. 'It was just such as would have been chosen for their abode by the ascetics of former days who loved to dwell in solitude and isolation amid scenes of grandeur and beauty.'

In A.D. 1565 the decisive battle of Talikote was fought and completely broke the Vijayanagar power. Rama Raja raised an army of a million men and 2,000 elephants. At a charge of copper coins from the guns of the allied Mussalman kings, hundreds of Hindus fell dead, while an infuriated elephant dashing near the king caused the bearers to drop the palanquin in which he was seated. He was taken prisoner and his head was struck from his body. Tirumala, the sole survivor of the three brothers, fled with 500 elephants laden with treasure equal to 100 million sterling. The next day the place was looted and within five months the whole was a mass of ruins. 'Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly on so splendid a city: teeming with a wealthy and industrious population one day, and the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description'. (Sewell.)

Time has wrought her will on this once wonderful city and comparatively little remains of her former greatness. An account of some of the many ruins will be of interest.

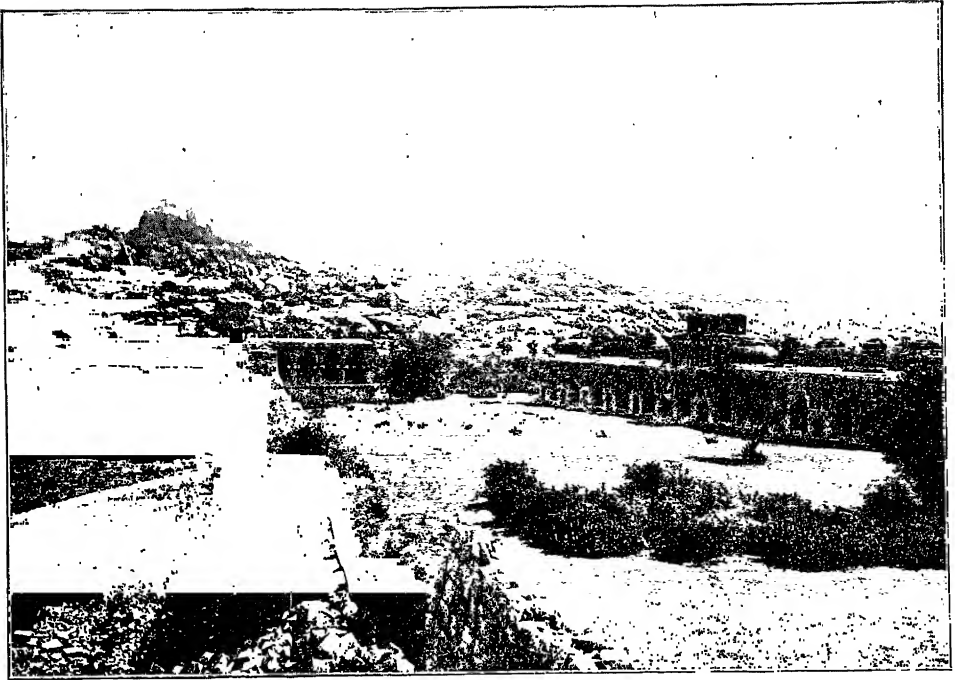
### THE FORTIFICATIONS

THE City itself covers an area of nine miles but the fortifications are of much larger extent. According to the accounts given by visitors in the days of the Empire's prosperity, there were seven walls and gates, which Sewell has attempted, apparently with success, to identify. The first gate was on the south-west of Hospet, the seventh to the west of Kamalapura, enclosing an area measuring twenty-four miles from east to west and one mile from north to south. Two large gateways are still in existence and give some idea of the massiveness of the fortifications. The fortification runs up the side of the hills and along the low ground between them. It is not unusual to find several lines behind one another. The natural possibilities of the country have thus been utilized to their utmost extent. Two elaborate archways are still to be seen on these walls.

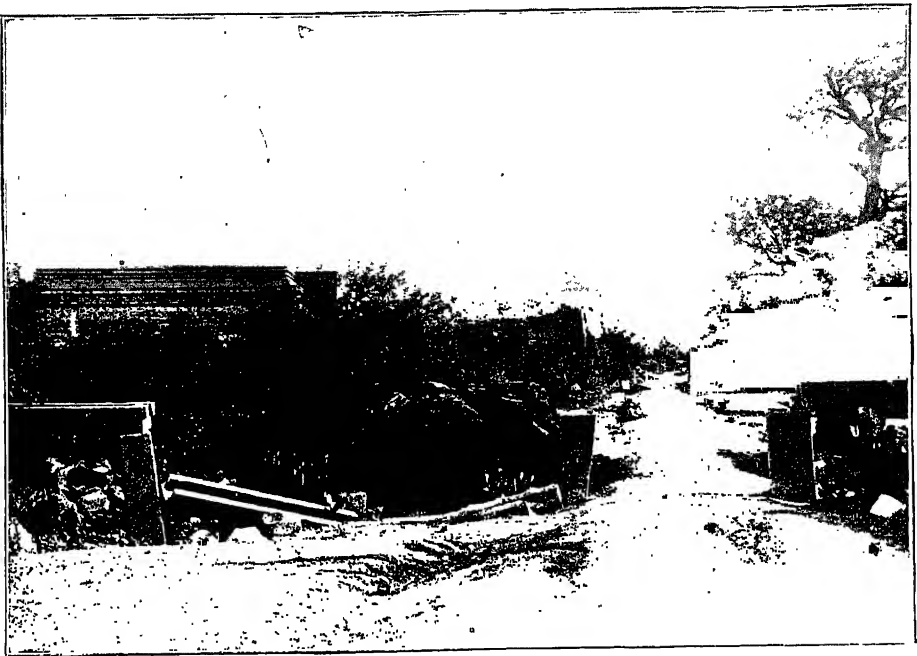
The arch is seldom seen in the gateways of the ruins, for the Hindu has never taken kindly to that style of architecture either in the temples or the walls. This dislike was expressed in the phrase 'An arch never sleeps.' Thus, whenever possible the horizontal arch was used. Their objection to the arch was based upon the fear that the continual pressure exerted would be too great for the sides and thus cause the arch to sink. Even when the abutment on either side has been great they have persisted in the use of the horizontal, which requires so much larger a quantity of material. Of this misuse of the horizontal arch Fergusson says 'We cannot help perceiving that with much smaller stone and less trouble, a far more stable construction could have been obtained so long as the wall on either side remained entire.'

### THE PALACE BUILDINGS

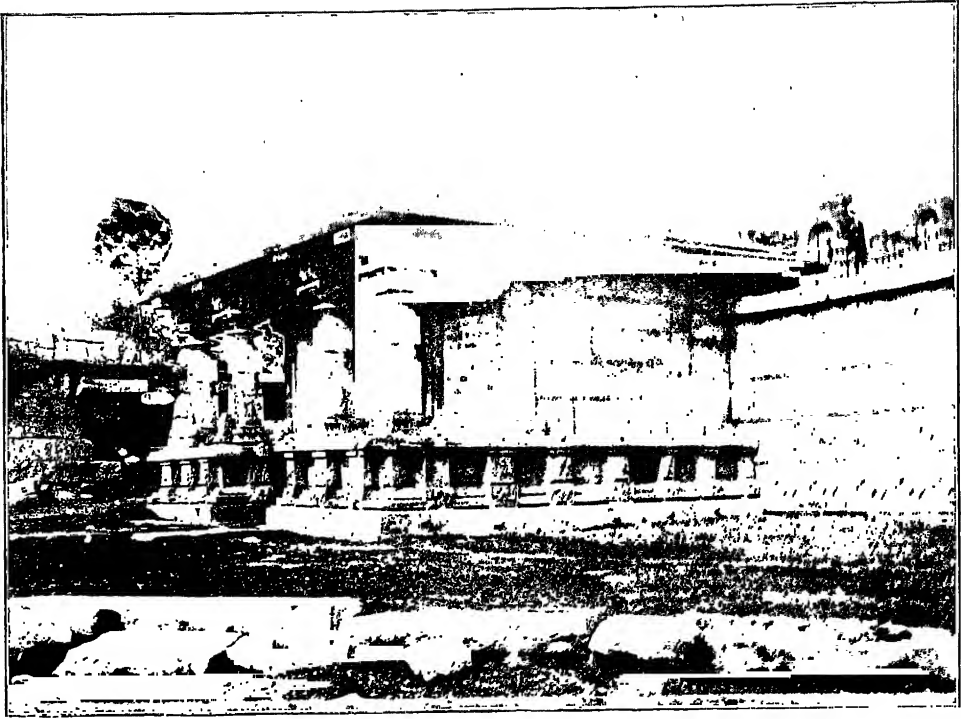
AMONG the many buildings of interest in the ruins, none arouse more attention than those found in the neighbourhood known as the 'Palace Enclosure'. But the visitor is doomed to disappointment if he expects to find a clearly marked out plan of the buildings used by the royal household. There is much speculation and, as yet, little light, on the uses of the buildings still in a fair state of preservation while the ground on which many former buildings stood is covered with débris which give little clue to the plans of the palace. It is almost certain that a few weeks' spade work would enable our archaeologists to give more data on which to reconstruct the former buildings. The Elephant Stables,



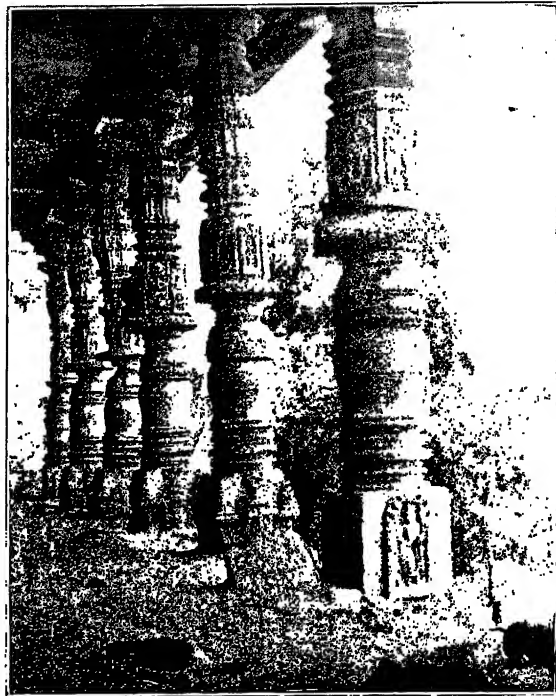
ELEPHANTS' STABLES, AND OFFICES WITH SURROUNDING WALL.



DASARA DIBBA AND WATER CHANNEL.



HAZARA RAMASWAMY TEMPLE.



CHALUKYA PILLARS AT ANEGUNDI.

the Offices, the Council Chamber are still in a good state of preservation and help the visitor to form some idea of the nature of the Vijayanagar power. It is interesting to note that while the Muhammadan has not affected the architecture of the Hindu Temples, it is clearly evidenced in the arch so pronounced in the Civil Buildings. The Queen's Bath, fifty feet long and six feet deep, must have been a very handsome building, the bay windows on three sides lending effect to the interior. The water used in this place was brought probably from some channel of the Tungabadra by means of stone aqueducts, parts of which are still remaining.

The Dasara Dibba, the Mahanavami, derives its name from the fact that the platform was used at the nine days' feast called Dasara, when the king viewed the festivities in the grounds below. It was built as a memorial by Krishna Deva Raja on his return from the victory of Orissa, 1513. In the account of Paes, there is a reference to 'a building which stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures and all open in front and they go up to it by staircases of stone and underneath is a terrace paved with very good flagstones where stand out some of the people, looking at the feast.' It is obvious that this is the description of an erection that stood on the top of the present structure but which has been destroyed. From this point the King used to view the Dasara festivities, a long account of which is given by Paes. The mural carvings around the basement are of the greatest interest, representing the shooting of black buck, ladies dancing in diaphanous skirts, rows of elephants and other animals. In one of the panels showing a hunting scene a cross is carved, clearly a later addition. Is this the emblem of Christianity due to the Portuguese who at this time were so powerful at the Court?

Surrounding the Palace proper there is a high wall of peculiar structure, tapering gradually as it rises. It has been suggested that the wall surrounded the Zenana and was meant to denote that it was intended for privacy and not defence.

### HAZARA RAMASWAMY TEMPLE

THE temple of the thousand Ramas was used as the private place of worship for the kings and was begun by Krishna Deva Raja in 1513 after his return from a successful campaign in the east. It was probably not finished till later, as the architecture differs from that of Krishnaswami Temples built in the same year. The carvings in this building are distinctly above the average of those to be seen in the ruins. Of special interest are the carvings representing scenes from the Ramayana to be found on the outer walls of inner temples. They are the pride of the



temple and evidence very able workmanship. Four carved pillars beautifully polished are to be seen inside.

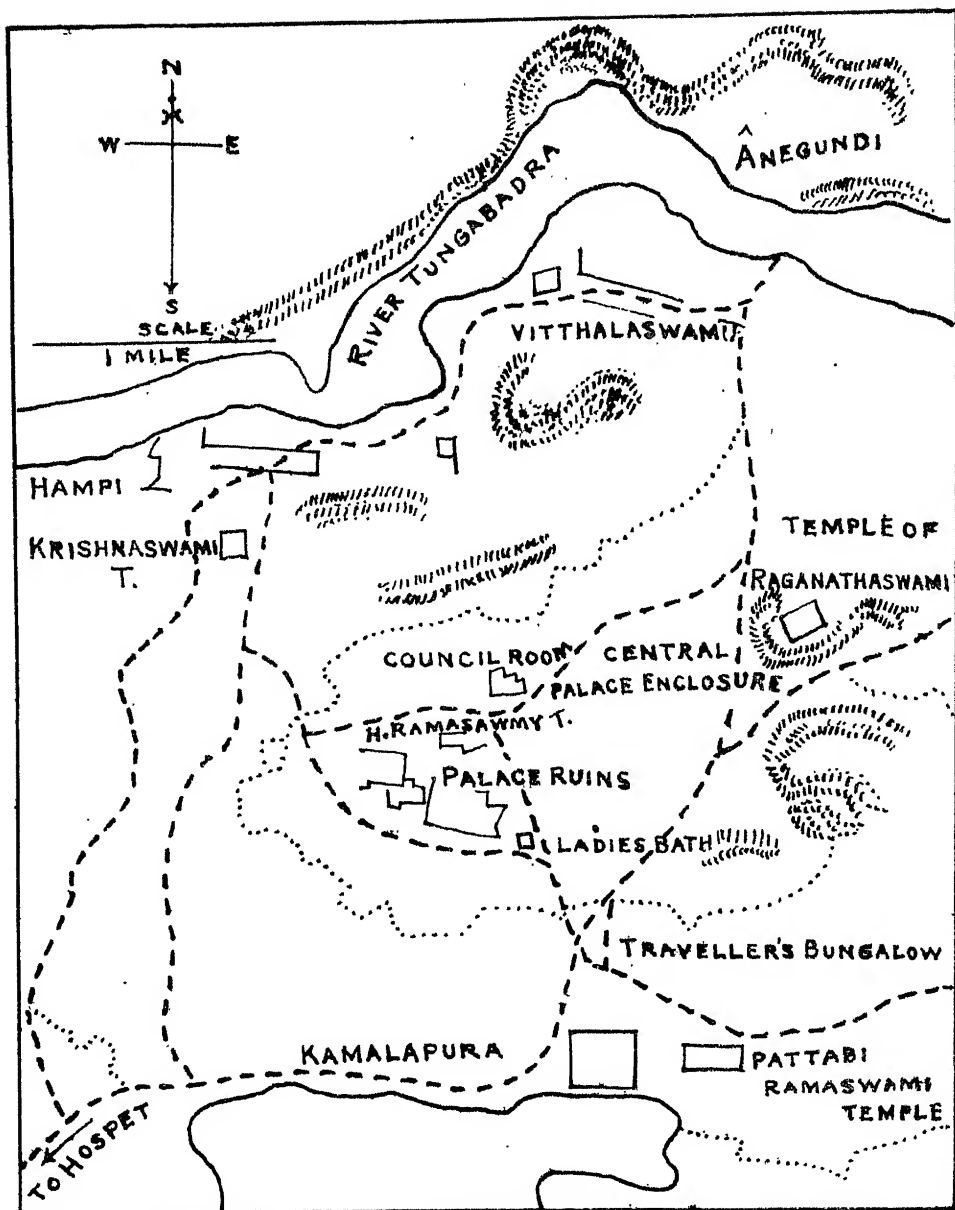
### ANEGUNDI

THE Kingdom of Vijayanagar took its rise in this district of lofty granite hills on the north side of the Tungabhadra river. The Anegundi chiefs were probably feudatories of the Hoysala Ballalas and existed as a ruling family for 700 years before A.D. 1350 in the district still unexplored. The city was entered by three gates, the one on the north of the river being reached by means of basket boats used so long ago as A.D. 1500. There is a temple still in good condition less than a furlong from the gate, where are to be seen pillars of curious style. Part of the pillars which are thirteen and half feet high are turned similar to those found in the Chalukyan temples of Halebid. This would seem to point to the influence of the Hoysala kingdom on Anegundi. 'The peaks, tors, and logging stones of Bijanagger and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Deccan which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stone and columnar piles, and in walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry.'

### VITTHALASWAMI TEMPLE

NOWHERE is the hand of the destructive invader seen with more reality than in the remains of this once beautiful temple, said to have been built for the image of Vittoba at Pandharpur but not inhabited by him owing to its grandeur being of so overwhelming a nature. The building is described as 'the most ornate of all the religious edifices of the kingdom', Mr. Rea says: 'It shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced.' It was begun by Krishna Deva Raja and continued during the reigns of Achyuta Row and Sadāsiva but was never finished. This may have been due to the destruction of the city in A.D. 1565 or as Fergusson suggests 'no successor cares to complete the work begun by a predecessor'. It has all the characteristics of the Dravidian style, the bold cornice, the detached shafts, yalis, etc. But to-day there is scarcely a complete piece to be seen, for the work of destruction seems to have been carried out with determination. The large car in the enclosure is made entirely of stone and pilgrims find religious merit in turning round the wheel on axles already dangerously worn.





THE CITY OF VIJAYANAGAR

Roads -----  
 Fortifications.....

## HAMPI

THE name by which the ruins as a whole are known, really denotes a small village on the south side of the river where is situated the famous Pampapati Temple called after Virupaksha, who married Pampa, the daughter of Brahma. This temple excels all others in point of size and presents a really fine picture from the hill above the village. The large goparum of the temple faces a long street, thirty-five yards wide and 800 yards long. Hampi was, till recent years, a very popular religious rendezvous, but owing to severe epidemic outbreaks the Car festivals have not been so well attended.

A group of Jain Bastis overlooked the Pampapati Temple. They are strongly built with stepped towers and are quite different from everything else in the ruins. Judging from the number of temples belonging to this sect, the Jains must have formed a large community.

It is a matter for gratitude that the Public Works Department is exercising all care and watchfulness in the preservation of these ruins.

## DIRECTIONS FOR VISITING THE RUINS

THE visitor will find his way to Kamalapura by road from Hospet station, a distance of about seven miles. Here he will be able to obtain accommodation in the Traveller's Bungalow from which point he is within easy walking distance of the places of interest.

One day should be devoted to visiting the Palace Ruins and the fortifications round about the present village. A second day will be best spent in following the direct line to Anegundi—passing the Gangitti Temple, the grave of the Sacred Bull, the Malyanta Raganathaswami Temple on a hill to the right, the gateway of the fortifications. After crossing the river and visiting Anegundi the tourist should visit the temple of Vitthalaswami and the spot where it is supposed Sita's garment fell. It is possible to continue along the bank of the river till one reaches Hampi but to follow out this plan would make a very heavy day's work.

If the visitor is not pushed for time, it would be well to examine leisurely the objects of interest on the road between Kamalapura and Hampi. Several good specimens of Sati stones are to be seen by the side of the road.

*(The following note has been kindly sent by Mr. Krishnaswami Iyengar.)*

## MYSORE AND VIJAYANAGAR

ONE of the noblemen of first rank at the court of Vijayanagar mentioned in the two Portuguese chronicles is a personage by name Kumara Virayya of Seringapatam. Mr. Sewell identifies this personage with 'Hire Chamaraja Wodeyer' of the present ruling family of Mysore. This connexion between the two royal families deserves to be examined

carefully. This is best done by examining the authorities on which Mr. Sewell bases his conclusions. The first reference is in the chronicle of Paes, written about the year A.D. 1537, and relates to what took place in the reign of Krishna Deva Raja A.D. 1509-80. Referring to the Durbar, Paes writes—'As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and the fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Seringapatam (Seringapatam) and of all the territory bordering upon Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya, and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.'

Nuniz refers to the same person twice: '*Comarbera* had eight thousand foot and four hundred horse and twenty elephants.' The name of course is Kumara Virayya. Describing the battle of Raichur, the same authority records: '*Comarbera* begged from him the command of the van, he being the king's father-in-law, and a great lord; he is king of Seringapatam and lord of a large state. He brought with him thirty grown-up sons, etc.

From these extracts the following facts stand out clearly:—

1. Kumara Virayya was a nobleman and a general of consequence.
2. He was ruler of Seringapatam and father-in-law of the king.
3. He was old enough at the time of the battle of Raichur to bring with him into the field thirty grown-up sons.

Mr. Sewell would make him identical with the Hire Chamaraja Wodeyer of Mysore. This Hire Chamaraja was the son of Bettada Chamaraja, who ruled from A.D. 1552-76. Sewell's equation Hire-Vira is absurd to begin with.—Hire is a Kanarese word meaning elder,—this Chamaraja could not have been elder Chamaraja till a younger came to occupy the throne. While yet a prince, therefore, he could not have been called Hire Chama, and if that designation was at all current at the time it would apply rather to his father than to him. In Mysore history, however, he is uniformly known as 'Bole' Chamaraja or Chamaraja the bald, because he lost his hair by a stroke of lightning. There is no reference known to me that he was at all called elder Chamaraja.

His only connexion with Vijayanagar was that at one time he declined to pay tribute and this circumstance must have occurred late in his reign. If he lived on to A.D. 1576, he could not have been the father of thirty grown-up sons, even allowing him a very liberal complement of wives in about A.D. 1520.

The last but the most crucial evidence of all against this identification is that the Wodeyers of Mysore were never connected with Seringapatam in the sense warranted by the references quoted above. It was Raja Wodeyer who began to rule in A.D. 1578 and lived on to A.D. 1617, that first conquered Seringapatam in A.D. 1610 from Viceroy Tirumal Raya and got his possession of the viceroyalty confirmed by a grant from Venkatipatiraya ruling from Penukonda in A.D. 1612. (*Vide* my paper on Mysore under the Wodeyers.) From this then, it is clear that Mr. Sewell's identification has neither philological nor historical support. In addition to this there is the improbability of a person being named by an accidental adjective rather than by the substantive in his name. That the important connexion of the Mysore ruler with the great Krishna Deva finds no mention whatsoever in Mysore history, is a circumstance one would think, absolutely decisive.

The Kumara Virayya under reference must be, therefore, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, who might have been either the son or grandson of the Virayya of Arga a palatine principality of the earlier days of Vijayanagar, now represented by a village of the name in the Tirthalli Taluq of Shimoga. Seringapatam was always regarded as the premier viceroyalty and hence the evidence of great power and importance.

## REVIEW

*The Journal of the South Indian Association*

THE South Indian Association has been in existence for over four years, but not till six months ago did the association feel justified in inaugurating a magazine to embody its lectures. The first two numbers certainly justify that step.

'The objects of the Association shall be the promotion and encouragement of the specialized study of the various branches of knowledge which bear in a direct manner upon the progress of India.'

Dr. Morris Travers, F.R.S., Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, delivered the inaugural lecture in February, 1910, his subject being 'Some Recent Researches on Atmospheric Air'. He makes special mention of the work of Sir William Ramsay with whom he was associated in researches in the new gas 'helium'.

Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M.A., contributes a long article of eighty-six pages on 'The Cholas'. There is the same careful work in detail research as we have been led to expect from the lecturer. At the end of the lecture a Revised Pedigree of the Cholas is added. In Part II he gives an interesting account of the rural administration in the village of Ukkal near Mamander between Conjeevaram and Wandiwash. Extracts on the powers and duties of the Assembly, supervision, justice, constitution of the Assembly, character of administration all point to the fact of a highly organized system of government.

Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, deals with the Lahore Exhibition held last year.

The second number contains an article on 'Recent Work in Heredity', by Mr. P. F. Fyson, B.A. The intense personal interest in the problem of heredity makes students ever ready to hear the results of the researches of scholars. The article is illustrated with many interesting examples.

Commercial education is dealt with by Rao Saib S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, and Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao gives translations of six Pallava Inscriptions. The English Poor Law, which has been occupying much thought and attention in England, is lucidly explained by Mr. Arthur Davis, M.A.

A. R. SLATER.

## HOOK-SWINGING

ABBE DUBOIS devotes a short paragraph to this ordeal, describing it as a 'torture to which devotees submit themselves in honour of the goddess Mari-amma, one of the most evil-minded and blood-thirsty of all the deities of India.'<sup>1</sup>

To-day many suppose that this revolting practice has ceased altogether, assuming that it is prohibited by law. But this is not so.

Mr. Beauchamp in the edition mentioned below states that 'Hook-swinging' is still practised in the Madura District (Madras). Though the magistracy have orders to do all they can to prevent it . . . , as it is not under ordinary circumstances a criminal offence, it cannot be prevented by legal process.

In certain places of the Mysore State there are still 'swings', but no hooks. These have been replaced by a big wooden cradle or open box, which, during the annual Jatire, is used to amuse those who will venture to take an aerial flight.

<sup>1</sup> Vide 'Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies' (3rd Ed., 1906), pp. 597-8.

The ordeal witnessed by the writer last year had in it nothing of amusement, but was a very serious ceremony. It took place at Megaravalli, a village about nine miles west of Tirthahalli. On the edge of the forest there stands a little Mari-temple which is almost hidden through being in a hollow and being surrounded by the ryots' houses. In front of the temple, perhaps fifty yards distant, there is an old, well-used gibbet or 'swing'.

We reached the place about two o'clock and found that the 'swing' had been made ready, and ropes and hooks affixed. It is a rude instrument of torture. On the top of the perpendicular post, or pole, there is a movable frame-work which holds the pivot and forms the swivel on which the cross-beam turns. On one end of the cross-beam two hooks, rather one double-hook, had been fixed to receive those inserted in the fleshy part of the devotee's back. From the other end of the beam a rope was hanging, by the pulling of which the victim is raised in the air and made to swing round and round.

The votaries were prepared for their trials by two priests. There were two men, four women and one or two children. Only the men had to undergo the penance of hook-swinging; the rest had to fulfil their vows in other ways. These poor men, believing that the goddess has the power and authority to send or stay or banish sickness, disease and death, had vowed that if they recovered from recent ills they would submit themselves to the torture of hook-swinging. They, therefore, as well as the priests, were eager to satisfy the demands of the deity and to make good their solemn promises. In order to pass through the ordeal as gallant men of grit, they had taken deep draughts of intoxicating drinks, of which indulgence they gave ample evidence. After certain acts of 'purification' at a well close by, they all repaired to the temple. The priests busied themselves for a few seconds on the temple verandah, then a procession was formed and the devotees went round and round the building, treading on the outer garments of their friends; the men clutching old black swords, capering about in a ridiculous manner; the women silent, with their clasped hands raised above their heads. The purpose of all this seemed to be the exciting of those who had to endure pain. After this was over, one of the men stood erect in front of the temple door, then prostrated himself while the priests sprinkled him and his companions with 'sacred' water.

During this proceeding the Patel, a Namadari Gouda, approached us and asked if we approved of hook-swinging. This was a mere formality; for he knew full well that we do not. After a little while he came again and asked for our consent promising that if the ceremony was carried through, he would prevent its taking place in the future. I simply reminded him of the declarations and orders of those in high authority and besought him not to encourage the ignorant but zealous folk who were under oath because of an evil superstition. During this brief conversation the excited votaries were waiting restlessly along with the priests near the steps of the temple. The Patel, after further deliberation, decided that the hooks should be inserted in the men's backs, that they should walk round beneath the cross-beam of the 'swing' and not be elevated at all.

This was done and the hooks were soon withdrawn. The wounds were covered with one or two green leaves, held in place by a bandage. A number of spectators protested strongly against this unheard of departure from old custom and established creed but, for the good of all, we were glad the men escaped the pain and the danger of the gibbet. For we were told that a few months previous to this one man when hoisted high by the swing had been so torn that he fell on to the hard ground below and was seriously injured.

The women, under oath, retired for a short time, put on dresses made of leaves and twigs, then, assisted by friends, walked one after the other round the temple. Unlike

the men, they were quiet in all they did and fulfilled their vows in a very solemn manner.

The last part of the festival was carried out by an outcaste youth,—the beheading of a dozen sheep and goats. While he hacked and hewed in a very repulsive fashion, no one was allowed to stand between the slaughtered victims and the image of Mari. When one unintentionally transgressed the priest cried out 'stand aside, stand aside. This is her food. Let her see it: let her see it.'

Needless to add, a large number of Namadari<sup>1</sup> men, women and children assembled to see these ceremonies. Hook-swinging is very common and even popular in the country beyond Tirthahalli: we were informed that the Megaravalli gibbet is used two or three times every year. A few months ago a number of men suffered its torture and satisfied the goddess.

A. BROCKBANK.

### A TRADITION ABOUT KARIKAL-CHOLA

In his *History of India for senior classes*, Part I, Hindu Period, page 313, Mr. E. Marsden writes of Karikal-Chola as follows:—'Karikal-Chola I was the earliest Chola king of whom anything is known. He lived probably in the first century A.D. His father died before he was born and a rival prince seized on the throne. He set fire to a hut in which the little boy was sleeping that he might be burnt to death. His nurse saved him, but in the dark his feet were badly burnt and blackened and in this way he got the nickname Karikal or Blackfoot . . .' A slightly different tradition about this Karikal-Chola is current at Singanallur, a village five miles to the east of Coimbatore, and I give it below as it was related to me.

The tract of country now known as the Coimbatore Taluq was, many ages ago, known as Pippalaranya, or Forest of Asvattha or Peepul trees. In its midst was situated the present village of Vellalur—the mother village of Singanallur a few decades since—where lived a pious Brahmin by name Valmiki Sastry, whose calling was that of *stanika* in the local Perumal's temple. He was very learned, and a man of austere character.

One morning he went as usual a few yards into the forest to collect (समित्) twigs for use in his homas (होमं). Before he had gone far he heard soft and subdued cries, and

looking around saw under a bush two ladies of rank, one of whom was *enceinte*. With great tenderness he approached them, made very kind inquiries and learnt that they were the queens of the Chola king who had been lately slain in battle, and that they had run away to avoid arrest by their victorious enemy. The Sastry took them to his house and looked after them with a father's care. The queens were known as Singamma and Samamma, and it was the former that was pregnant. When the time came she was delivered of a son, whose legs were painted black by the mother, to facilitate his identity should he regain his father's kingdom after coming of age.

One day, when the boy was growing from childhood into youth, the State elephant of the Chola kingdom came running to him, while he was at play in the fields, threw round his neck the garland of flowers it had in its hands, lifted him, placed him on his

<sup>1</sup> The Nāmadāris are an agricultural caste of Vaishnava Sudras akin to the Vakkiligas and common in the Malnad of Mysore. Their special forte is the cultivation of the areca-nut.—Ep.



back and ran off to the capital, followed by the mother and step-mother of the Prince, and their guardian Valmiki Sastry. When quiet was restored and the Prince was firmly installed on his throne, the two royal widows made a free gift of two villages to their friend-in-need, who named them after the donors by the names which they bear to this day. Samalapuram is about two miles to the south of the Somanur Railway Station.

The presentation is reported to have been recorded on a copperplate and given to Valmiki Sastry, but it is not available for reference now, nor are his descendants who continue to live at Singanallur and Samalapuram following the ancestral calling, able to account for its disappearance. That there was such a record is not questioned, as there are even to this day many old people in and about the villages who say that they have seen it.

A tank to the west of the village is pointed out as the place of the finding of the Prince by the elephant, and it is to this day known as Anai-Varikulam—Elephant-lifting-tank. It has an outlet known as Raja-Vaikkal—the Royal channel.

That the tank has been known by its present name for at least one thousand two hundred years and more is borne out by an inscription on stone, on one of the side walls of the Vishnu's temple at Vellalur, in which the donor of lands to the temple states that the Anai-Varikulam bounds his gift-lands on one side. The inscription records also the name of the then reigning king as Nandi-Varma, whose date has been finally settled as the first half of the eighth century of the Christian era.

I have attempted this version, that scholars better equipped than myself may examine it and decide how far it is historically correct.

S. R. ANANTANARAYAN AIYAR.

### TRADE AND RACES OF OMAN<sup>1</sup>

*CENTRES of trade* are, on the coast from south to north, Dhofar, Sur, Maskat and Matrah, and Burka, and in the interior Samail forty-eight miles from the terminus Matrah up the Wadi Samail which is the great thoroughfare to the interior of Oman. At Samail it throws out branches reaching north, south, and west, along which the caravans travel to the various districts and tribal centres. The whole of Oman is intersticed with small wadis which are used as high roads. (The word means a 'valley', but in Arabia a wadi is a broad watercourse which is practically dry for nine months of the year). The towns and villages lie on the banks of the Wadi, and the water-supply is obtained from wells dug in the wadi-beds.

*Exports and Produce.*—Omani produce is limited to dates, frankincense, and bdellium (a similar substance), and a few skins. The *dates* are grown throughout the northern portion of the country in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast, and are collected at Matrah for export. The dates are exported principally to America (U.S.), which exportation forms the principal trade interest of that Government in Oman. Some few are exported by Indian merchants to Bombay.

<sup>1</sup> The historical relationship of South India with East Africa, Arabia, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf is more intimate than is generally supposed. Major W. G. Grey's note on Oman is illustrative of this relationship. See also *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. i, p. 38, *Roman Coins in Chitaldrug*; p. 43, *India at the Dawn of the Christian Era*; p. 81, *Roman Coins at Yeswantpur*; p. 100, *Gold in Ancient India* and vol. ii, p. 15, *Somaliand*.—ED.

*Frankincense* is almost entirely the produce of the southern province of Dhofar, being grown in the Samhan range of hills which run along this district parallel to the sea-shore at a distance therefrom of about five to twenty miles. The amount of yearly produce is difficult to estimate as the trade is carried on entirely between the tribes dwelling in the hills and the Arab and Indian merchants residing in the villages of Dhofar and Maskat, and it is to everybody's interest to suppress statistics in order to escape the payment of duty. The spices are exported chiefly to Maskat by dhow and thence to Indian ports, but a part of the trade is carried on direct with Bombay by native craft.

*Skins* are exported from Burka, principally to Matrah and thence to Indian ports by steamship. This trade is, like the other branches, mainly in the hands of British Indian merchants. It varies from year to year, but in comparison with dates and frankincense is of small account.

*Fish* must be mentioned in connexion with Oman waters. The writer made out in 1905 a list of all the fish commonly found in the locality and the number reached 187. Of these many had no English name, but six per cent were fit for human consumption and at least four per cent were excellent eating. There is a variety of sardine found in large quantities which, in the opinion of certain commercial experts, might be taken up. The objections to this venture however, chiefly lie in the fact that a large initial expenditure would be inevitable owing to the small number of facilities available.

*Imports*.—It is hardly necessary to say that arms and ammunition account for a very large portion of the import duty paid at Maskat, and this traffic still continues, although it has recently received a check. The principal articles of import besides arms are, piece-goods from Liverpool, Manchester and continental parts, rice and sugar in considerable quantities from Bombay and Karachi, and wines, spirits, scent, and oilmanstores from France, England and India.

*Races and languages*.—It is said with truth that fourteen languages are spoken daily in the bazaars of Maskat and Matrah and if the Arabic dialects were separately considered, this number would be greatly exceeded. The fourteen languages are:—

Arabic, Persian, Biluchi, English, French, Swahili, Somali, Hindustani, Sindi, Gujrati, Portuguese, Pushtu, Armenian and Turkish.

Arabic is spoken by the natives of the country; Persian by some natives of Persia who have settled recently in Oman for trade purposes as well as by some families who are of Persian extraction and whose residence dates from the Persian occupation of Maskat; Biluchi by the Biluch fishermen and others who form the majority of the servant class throughout the State; English by the Political agent and his staff, also by certain Goanese and other merchants; French by the French Consul and certain Belgian arms merchants; Swahili by the Negro slaves and their relatives; Somali by natives of Somaliland who visit the Oman shores yearly in search of dates, etc.; Hindustani by the large bulk of the educated population; Sindi by the Hindu merchants from Sind and by the Khoja community who have within the last century settled in Oman and are rapidly coming to be regarded as part of the Arab population; Gujrati by a number of Hindu traders from the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, the residence of some of whom in Oman dates back for 150 years, possibly more; Portuguese or Goanese by the Goanese population, merchants, domestic servants, etc., who number a dozen souls or more; Pushtu by the Biluch and Afghan arms' dealers who are still to be met with occasionally in the bazaars; Armenian and Turkish by the Armenian merchants and secretaries and by a few Turkish soldiers who having deserted from the Turkish army operating in Yemen have migrated east and taken service under the sympathetic ruler of Oman.

## THULAVA VELLALAR COMMUNITY OF BANGALORE CIVIL AND MILITARY STATION<sup>1</sup>

Our people who are known as Thulava Vellalars were originally living in Arcot, Vellore and Conjeevaram, and afterwards had to migrate to procure better livelihood.

In accordance with the customs of other castes and communities in Southern India, our community used to elect a 'periya manushan' to manage the affairs of the community in each village or locality as regards their social matters. The local assembly of the people of our community which is convened by a public announcement is what is called the 'Mahanadu'. At this local assembly, we elect a competent man to be the head of our community in our locality, and he is called the 'Mahanadu'. He is given an assistant who is styled the 'Elavarasu'. The 'Mahanadu' exercises control over the barber, the washerman, the panichavan, the thotee of the burial ground and looks after the performance of their services in connexion with ceremonies, auspicious and inauspicious, observed by the individual members of the community. In every community of Southern India, the chief object in electing the headman is to guard the interests of marriages and inter-dining. When there is a violation of the conditions under which the marriage and inter-dining ought to take place, the matter is reported to the headman who takes the necessary steps to rectify matters either by convening and consulting the general assembly or by the advice of the 'Elavarasu'. In so rectifying the affairs, sometimes fines are imposed on the party who is guilty of any violation of the social law and the money so got is devoted either to a temple or to some charity; sometimes the party who is guilty is excommunicated.

I do not think that this system has been working satisfactorily for the last

<sup>1</sup> The adjunct Tuluva before the generic term Vellala is believed to indicate their geographical origin. The Tuluva Vellalas are a sub-section of the Tondamandalattu Vellalas. When they were in the Tulu country, and how they managed to come into the Tondamandalam are matters regarding which they themselves are hazy. They believe that they were people that went into the north of the Tonda country where forests were cleared and fresh reclamations were made under the semi-legendary Adhonda Chakravarti. This personage is supposed to be the son of a Chola king by an unknown woman according to the story. When she sent the child as a young man to claim the territory according to the promise made to her, the king did not recognize him. The prince made him understand their relationship by stating that he was to be recognized by the Tondai (*Bryonia grandis*) creeper that he wore round his neck. The king then allotted to him the forest region in the north, about the Ceded Districts and asked him to go over with whatever among the inhabitants would follow him. Those that did and peopled the new region came to be known by this distinct designation.

This story indicates a vague recollection of the tradition which finds considerable vague in the Tamil classics. The Chola king Nedumudikilli, the successor of the great Karikala, became enamoured of a damsel whom unexpectedly he met on the royal garden in Puhar. She lived with him for a month and disappeared, having taken a promise from him that he would provide suitably for the child of the union. The child was sent, with the distinguishing mark of the Tondai (*Bryonia grandis*) creeper, through a merchant whose ship called at an island called Manipallavam either Mannar or Ceylon itself. The ship foundered and the child was believed to have died. The boy, however, escaped miraculously and was brought to the Chola king. He was known Ilandirayan, 'the young prince of the waves'. He ruled at Kanohi in the early centuries of the Christian Era and was a great ruler and patron of learning. It seems to have been then that the northward extension of the Chola power took place, and the memory of the reclamation of forest tracts remains in the name Karvetinagar written in early inscriptions Kaduveṭṭinagara and one of the many names of the Pallavas, namely, Kadavas. There is nothing to connect this sect of the Vellalas with these transactions. It is quite probable that they were imported from the neighbouring region westwards from which they brought in their name also.—S. K.

fifteen years in the C. and M. station. This appears to be the case with our community abroad and with almost all the communities in Southern India, for the law courts are generally resorted to for decision in all matters which were originally submitted to the general assemblies.

Like our own there are separate 'nattams' to manage the affairs of our communities living in Ulsur and Shoolay. There are bonds of relationship between these different headmen of our community in points of caste disputes. If the headman of our community in one locality excommunicates a member for violating our social observances and reports the excommunication to the other headmen, they will also treat the member so excommunicated as excommunicated. The excommunication will be revoked by the community after performing the 'prayachitta' which the general assembly may decide should be performed by the excommunicated. If it is known for certain that a woman or a widow commits adultery against the principles of the community, she must necessarily be excommunicated. Excommunication means that no member of our community should associate himself with the family or the individual who is excommunicated in matters social. The washerman, the panichavan, the barber and the thotee will be debarred from discharging their legitimate duties in the houses of the excommunicated. These rules and restrictions are not now strictly observed in cities and towns.

The 'paracheries' of the C. and M. station are under the sway of our 'Mahanadu', in matters social. In each one of these 'cheries', some competent man is elected to be the headman to manage the social affairs of the 'chery'. The headman so elected must necessarily be confirmed in his office by our 'Mahanadu'. These headmen of the 'cheries' are also called 'nattams'. In 'cheries' of comparatively large area, it is customary that the head 'nattam', who is known as 'periya nattam', is assisted by another of his community known as the 'chinna nattam', in the discharge of the duties of his office. The 'cheries' have also their own assemblies and it is in these assemblies that the 'nattams' are elected. The headmen, after consulting their own assemblies or at their own discretion or on consulting the 'chinna nattam' where there are 'chinna nattams', will take measures to rectify violations of their social principles either by fining the offenders or by excommunicating them. When fines are imposed, the money is utilized for the same purposes as in our community. In certain cases, the decision given by the 'nattams' must be submitted to our 'Mahanadu' for confirmation. The 'Mahanadu' can overrule the decisions of the 'chery' headmen, and he is the highest tribunal in all disputes, his decision being final. In these days, most of such matters are referred to the law courts.

The offices of the 'Mahanadu', the 'Elavarasu' and the 'nattams' are all hereditary after the first election. If an hereditary holder of an office fails to discharge his duties satisfactorily, the community has the power to depose him, and to elect a new officer in his place at its general assembly the 'Mahanadu'.

B. L. GAJARAJA MUDALIAR.

## QUERIES

### *Epigraphical Puzzles*

#### 1. Date of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's Death.

ON page 17 of the Introduction to vol. vi of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Mr. Rice observes:—

'Cm 96, dated 1141, contains incidentally what I take to be a record of the king's death. He is called the senior king Bitti-deva, and died at Bankapura. Boppa-deva

Dananyaka brought the body to Mudugere, where a fight took place for the elephant and treasure, and the chief men of the nine *mandes* of the Talige-nadu 1000 obtained from Narasinga-deva a grant for the son of a Gauda, who was killed in the battle.'

According to Mr. Rice, then, Vishnuvardhana must have ceased to live in A.D. 1141. How then are we to account for a number of inscriptions of a later period (i.e. later than A.D. 1141), in all of which Vishnuvardhana is mentioned as the actual ruler of the time?

<i>Vide</i> —(1) Ak 110 of 1142	(vol. v,	<i>Epigr. Carn.</i> )
(2) Ng 94 of 1142	(vol. iv, Part 2,	" )
(3) Kd 99 of 1143	(vol. vi	" )
(4) Mg 3 of 1143	(vol. vi	" )
(5) Ng 100 of 1145	(vol. iv, Part 2,	" )
(6) Kd 34 of 1148	(vol. vi	" )
(7) Hn 65 of 1149	(vol. v	" )
(8) Ck 40 of 1149	(vol. xii	" )
(9) Ck 28 of 1156-7 (?)	(vol. xii	" )

## 2. The expression *rajyam-geyyuttam-ire*.

What is the full epigraphical import of this expression, which is invariably met with in Kannada inscriptions? Dr. Fleet, in reply to a query on the point, says: 'As regards the expression *rajyam-geyyuttam-ire*, I see no reason for understanding it as meaning anything except that a person, in respect of whom it is used in any particular record, was actually reigning at the time specified in the same record in connection with the expression. If it is known from other sources that he was not reigning at that time, then we must conclude that there is at least something suspicious about the nature of the record.'

Are we, then, to conclude with Dr. Fleet that all records, in which the expression (or its equivalent) has been used in connexion with the names of *Infant-Princes*, *Yuva-rajyas*, and *Retired Kings* (who are known to be *not-actual-rulers* of the time), are to be looked upon as suspicious? If not, how is the use of the expression in such records to be justified?

A discussion of the point, with special reference to the following inscriptions, as well as those mentioned in Puzzle (i), is invited:—

(1) Cn 145 of 1079	(vol. v, Part 2,	<i>Epigr. Carn.</i> )
(2) Cn 189 of 1088	(vol. v, Part 2	" )
(3) Sh 64 of 1112	(vol. vii	" )
(4) Mg 22 of 1129	(vol. vi	" )
(5) Bl 124 of 1133	(vol. v, Part 2	" )
(6) Kd 76 of 1139 (?)	(vol. vi	" )
(7) Ak 17 of 1139	(vol. v, Part 2	" )
(8) Cn 148 of 1094	(vol. v, Part 2	" )
(9) Ak 34 of 1101 (?)	(vol. v, Part 2	" )
(10) Kd 164 of 1100	(vol. vi	" ), etc.

There is a point specially to be noted in connexion with the above puzzles. In Ck 40 (Vol. xii, *Epigr. Carn.*), the expression *rajyam-geyyuttam-ire* occurs in connexion with both Vishnuvardhana and his son Vira-Narasinga-Deva, as if both were ruling in the same year (1149), one residing at Bankapura and the other at Dorasamudra. Which of these was the *actual* ruler in that year? And how is this question to be decided?

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

## ANSWER TO THE QUERY IN THE JOURNAL OF OCTOBER, 1910

## (The Image of Śrī-Krishna in Hindu Temples)

THE image of Sri-Krishna, as worshipped in Hindu Temples, has one or the other of the following forms:—

- (i) *Baby-Form*—in the crawling or sitting posture, generally with a lump of butter in the right hand;
- (ii) *Boy-Form*—in the standing posture, in its several types, such as (1) the *Flute-player* (वेणुगोपाल), sometimes surrounded by cows, and sometimes without them; (2) the *Serpent-treader* (कालिय-मर्दन) with or without the serpent; and (3) the *Dancing-Krishna* (ताण्डवकृष्ण);
- (iii) *Man-Form or Grown-up-Form*—in its several aspects such as (1) *Arjuna's Charioteer* (पार्थसारथि), (2) the *Messenger of the Pandavas* (पाण्डवदूत), and (3) the *Refuge of the Refugees* (शरणागतरक्षक—as in the case of Draupadi) known as कल्याणनारायण at Dvaraka in Kattiawad.

It will be seen that, in temples dedicated to the first two forms (the Baby-Form and the Boy-Form), the image of Sri-Krishna is generally represented with *two* arms only. The reason for this is quite evident. The Puranas<sup>1</sup> state that Krishna, at his birth had *four* arms, with the conch and the disc in two hands. This form is called the *Divya-rupa* (Divine Form) as distinguished from the *Manusha-rupa* (human form); and has been characterized in the Bhagavad-Gita (XI. 50<sup>2</sup>) as Krishna's *natural* form (स्वकं रूपं). Soon after the birth of Krishna, his parents, for fear of Kamsa, prayed that the two arms holding the conch and the disc, might be concealed; and the request was immediately fulfilled. This concealment of the two arms is said to have continued till the fall of Kamsa, after which incident Krishna appears to have manifested himself in his natural form with four arms. He appeared, for instance, to Sisupala, Narakasura, Paundraka and some others, as *four-armed*. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (X. i. 3. 28-30):—

स त्वं घोरादुग्रसेनात्मजान्नस्त्राहि तस्तान् भृत्यवित्तासहासि ।

रूपं चेदं पौरुषं ध्यानधिष्ण्यं मा प्रत्यक्षं मांसदृशां कृषीष्ठाः ॥

जन्म ते मय्यसौ पापो मा विद्यान्मधुसूदन ।

समुद्विजे भवद्वेतोः कंसादहमधीरधीः ॥

उपसंहर विश्वात्मन्नदो रूपमलौकिकम् ।

शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मश्रिया जुष्टं चतुर्भुजम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> इत्यर्जुनं वासुदेवस्तथोक्त्वा स्वकं रूपं दर्शयामास भूयः ।

आश्वासयामास च भीतमेनं भूत्वा पुनस्सौम्यवपुर्महात्मा ॥

form manifested to Arjuna, before the *Viśva-rūpa*, was also *four-armed*, as is evidenced by the expression तेनैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेन. All this has been explained in the commentary<sup>1</sup> of Sri-Ramanujacharya on the Gita (XI. 50), which quotes the Vishnu-Purana V. 3.10-13, and IV. 15.13 as authorities.

It is noteworthy that, in most of the South Indian Temples devoted to the worship of Krishna, the image is in the *Baby-Form* or the *Boy-Form* with two arms only. There are, however, a few recent images of Venu-Gopala or the *Flute-player*, with *four* arms, such as (1) the *utsava-vigraha* or processional image in the Prasanna-Krishna Svami Temple at Mysore, and (2) the *utsava-vigraha* of Krishna in the temple of Ranganatha at Seringapatam.

The grown-up-form of Krishna is worshipped only in a few temples; and the image here is either *two-armed* or *four-armed*, according to the significance of the posture.

The following cases may be specially noted :—

- (1) The fixed image in Krishna's Temple at Tonnur, near French Rocks, is *four-armed*, whereas the processional image (Venu-Gopala) is *two-armed*,
- (2) The fixed image of Parthasarathi, in Triplicane, has only two arms, whereas the *Utsavar* has four arms,
- (3) The image of Kalyana-Narayana or Dvaraka-natha at Dvaraka in Kattiawad, is *four-armed*, as representing the grown-up-form of Krishna, manifested to Draupadi (the wife of the Pandavas) during her distressed condition.

It is doubtful whether the image of Janardana at Warkalli is in any way directly connected with the story of Krishna.<sup>2</sup> In the Vishnu-Temple at Mandya (Mysore district), which is commonly known as the Janardana-Svami Temple, the image has four arms, and resembles God Varada-Raja of Conjeveram. The image of Janardana at the celebrated

<sup>1</sup> “एवं पाण्डुतनयं भगवान् वसुदेवसूनुस्त्वत्वा भूयः स्वकीयमेव चतुर्भुजरूपं दर्शयामास । अपरिचितस्वरूपदर्शनेन भीतमेनं पुनरपि परिचितसौम्यवपुर्भूत्वा आश्वासयामास च । अस्य सर्वेश्वरस्य परमपुरुषस्य परस्य ब्रह्मणो जगदुपकृतिमर्त्यस्य वसुदेवसूनोश्चतुर्भुजमेव स्वकीयं रूपम् । कंसाद्वीतवसुदेवप्रार्थनेन आकंसवधाद्भुजद्वयमुपसंहृतं, पश्चादविष्कृतं च । ‘जातोऽसि देवदेवेश शङ्खचक्रगदाधर । दिव्यरूपमिदं देव प्रसादेनोपसंहर’ ॥ ‘उपसंहर विश्वात्मन् रूपमेतच्चतुर्भुजम्’ । — इति हि प्रार्थितम् ॥ शिशुपाकस्यापि द्विषतोऽनवरतभावनाविषयश्चतुर्भुजमेव वसुदेवसूनोरूपम्—‘उदारपीवरचतुर्बाहुं शङ्खचक्रगदाधरम्’ — इति । अतः पार्थेनात्र तेनैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेनेत्युच्यते ॥

Of. also Vishnu-chitta's commentary on the Vishnu-Purana (V. 3. 13-14) :—

कृष्णस्य चतुर्भुजरूपोपसंहारोक्त्या कंसवधान्तं द्विभुजत्वोपलब्धिः । परमार्थतस्तु चतुर्भुजत्वमेव नरक-शिशुपाक-पौण्ड्रकवादिषु प्रसिद्धेः ॥

<sup>2</sup> It is true that Krishna is worshipped in some temples by other names such as *Rāja-Mannār* at Mannār-gudi (Tanjore district), *Saurirāja* at Tirukkannapuram (Tinnevely district), and *Ranga-mannār* at Sri-Villiputtūr (Tinnevely district). If *Janardana* also similarly denotes Krishna, then the image at Warkalli may have a reference to some incident in the later stage of Krishna's life. A reference to the *Kṣhetra-Mahātmya* may enable us to settle this doubtful question,

temple of Gaya in North India is also four-armed, and it may be interesting to trace, if possible, whether there is any tradition connecting this image with Sri-Krishna.

M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR.

### A NOTE

THE traditions of Janārdana<sup>1</sup> in Varkala or Varkalai (= *Valkala* of Brahma) have nothing to do with Krishna. I do not remember to have seen any four-armed image of Krishna in South India. *Dvaraka-natha* (Krishna) in Dvaraka, Okhamandal, Kattiawad, has four arms. This is important, inasmuch as that country is where Sri-Krishna himself lived. The readers of the Mythic Society's Journal may read, in this connexion, Topics 46 and 47 in my *Divine Wisdom of the Dravida Saints*, anent 'Two or Four-Arm' Controversy.

A. GOVINDACHARYA, M.R.A.S.

The term *Janārdana*, though derivable in many ways, is generally explained as the Destroyer of the *Janas*, a tribe of the *Rākshasas* or demons, who inhabited the sea-coast.

Cf. (1) दस्युनाणाञ्जनार्दनः (Śrī-Parāśara-Bhaṭṭāraka's Commentary on the *Vishṇu-Sahasra-nāma*).

(2) जनान् दुर्जनान् अर्दयति हिनस्तीति.—(Śaṅkarāchārya's Commentary on the *Vishṇu-Sahasra-nāma*).

<sup>1</sup> The *Janārdana* image of Varkala in Travancore—that is, the *Mūla-vighraha*—is four-armed. The *Uṣava-vighraha* is also such, if I remember rightly. But the *Mūla-vighraha* (fixed image) is, to us, important for the Query.—A. G.



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## THE HISTORY AND COMMERCE OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY MR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., F.R. HIST. S.

### S U M M A R Y

1. Geographically India dominates the Indian Ocean.
2. Indian Ocean History is the History of Indian Ocean Commerce.
3. India is the magnet of nations.
4. India's part in this commerce more passive than active.
5. Throughout this history Western and Eastern nations contend for this trade.
6. This trade is active or quiescent according as the land route is shut or open.
7. There is a pendulum like swing in the Indian Ocean Commerce, the two extremities being the Somali coast on the one side and the coast of China on the other.
8. The trade of India then as now was in the hands of those that had the mastery of the sea.

On a map of the world the Indian Ocean appears as a deep vaulted arch resting upon Australia and South Africa as bases. The deep curve of the arch throughout its length is fairly regular except on the Eastern side

where the Islands of Indonesia lead on step by step from the south point of Asia to Australia. Thus the Indian Ocean has the limitless expanse of the ocean only on its southern side. On this vast land arch of the ocean India lies right at the place where the key-stone of the arch is bound to be, but projecting into the ocean more than twenty degrees of latitude. This position gives it command of the ocean, and it is this circumstance again that has given the ocean her name.

Unlike the Mediterranean or the Indonesian Seas, the Indian Ocean is rather prohibitive in point of distance to be navigated in sailing craft from land to land except by hugging the coast. This distance would appear to account for the lack of nautical enterprise among the Indians; but it must be remembered that these distances are nowhere entirely prohibitive. The real causes of the lack of maritime enterprise seem to be, however, the existence of landward ways throughout this region excepting the South and the West, and the want of nautical enterprise among the people that made the history of India.

It is not possible to postulate anything definite about how far we would be justified in looking for the home of man in the Indian Ocean, but the earliest dark people of South Asia, of whom we know anything at all, appear not to have been a maritime people. Even a later admixture of the nautically gifted Malays did not alter the position much. These mixed in varying degrees with the more ancient people and gave rise to blends so different that they range from the almost pure Melanesians through Micronesians, Alfurs, Negritos, on to the Polynesians who may be considered almost entirely of Malay stock. Even the Australian, perhaps, could be brought into this group. The East Malays never made their mark upon history; because the cluster of small islands made anything like a large or united empire impossible. There was further the drawback that the intervening Malay Peninsula happened to be just at the junction of the two important civilizations, Indian and Chinese. Neither of these influences was imperial; the Chinese turning them into commerce, and the Indian having had its effect solely upon their culture and spiritual life.

It is not, however, to be understood that, among the peoples so advantageously situated as those on the Indian Ocean region, maritime enterprise was altogether absent. All that could, with confidence, be asserted is that such enterprise as did exist did not lead on to a confederacy of Delos or Athenian Empire. Such navigation as there was, was along the coast mostly, and the purpose of it was commerce and not conquest. All along the semicircular coast line there are points at which people cluster because of their fertility. Ancient sailing craft went from point to point. So the arch was cut by an infinite number of chords, long and short, but the longest of them all then, as now, was that

from Madagascar to Ceylon, and across to the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. India should have played a great part if her people were of the insular kind that achieved their greatness upon the sea. This was not to be.

This want of nautical enterprise in India was not due to her lack of good harbours, as the great river mouths could have served the purpose well enough, as in fact they did to a limited extent. The people who got possession of her, and made her civilization and history lacked the energy and did not quite feel the need for putting out to sea. If India was to her landward neighbours, 'a Cynosure of neighbouring eyes', to the seaward she proved to be the 'magnet of nations'. In other words, those original peoples that showed some nautical ability had not the capacity for empire; while those that built her empires, great and small never acquired any nautical efficiency. The Aryan invaders of the country did not show much inclination for the sea. When once it was established that commerce was the sole object of sea-going, and it came to be recognized that there was no higher ambition in it, India could wait for other peoples to go to her rather than that she should be at the trouble and risk to go to them. This was what actually did happen.

If in navigation in its early stages people advanced, as in other arts, by slow degrees, there are only two regions of the Indian Ocean where nature has afforded facilities—the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf on the one side and Indonesia on the other. Why the peoples of the latter portion did not play any prominent part has already been explained. The former had the advantages, and it is there that one has to look for the earliest evidence of commercial activity. The commercial history of the Persian Gulf must remain a sealed book till more is known of the history of the Elamites. Chaldaean tradition of the advent of their first God would warrant inferences of trade by way of the Persian Gulf; and the supposed use of teak in the building of the great tower at Babylon would argue commercial intercourse with Malabar. It is the Red Sea, however, that plays the greater part and throws the more lurid light upon the early history of commerce in this region. It was then, as it is now since the epoch-making achievement of M. Lesseps, the highway of commerce between the East and the West.

The Egyptians were exclusive; and yet they kept up communication with the countries producing spice and frankincense, namely, South Arabia and the Eastern horn of Africa. The last King of the Eleventh Dynasty (2000—1778 B.C.) Seanchkara fitted out an expedition under his admiral Henu to sail from Coptos to 'Punt'. Queen Hathepfut about 1490 B.C. gave the same commission to her fleet on its southward voyage. The maintenance of a fleet in the Red Sea by King Rameses III (1200—1168 B.C.) is certainly evidence of nautical enterprise, although it may

not bear the burden of supporting the conclusion that the Phœnicians learnt navigation from the Egyptians.

It was left for the Phœnicians to open Indian trade to the West by way of the sea, and they were as much pioneers in the Indian trade as in the Western. Passing over Strabo's account of their settlement at Tylos and Arados, there is still no doubt that their trading voyages went back to the second millennium B.C. Since the expedition of Hiram and Solomon to Ophir from Ezingeber and Elath, the route to the mysterious land of gold was known and regularly frequented. It was David that secured Edom at the head of the Red Sea, and the alliance his son Solomon entered into with Hiram, King of Tyre was a mere continuation of this policy. If philological evidence is not out of court in this connexion, the existence of a few words in Hebrew which apply to the objects indicated only in Tamil at this period would put it beyond doubt that there was regular commercial relation between South India and Palestine. That this trade was carried on and valued is amply in evidence in the struggle which the Hebrews maintained for securing possession of Elath, the modern Akabah, in the eighth and ninth centuries B.C. With the final loss of their port in 730 B.C. at the head of the Red Sea the Hebrews lost their Indian Ocean trade and with it their political unity.

This loss to the Hebrews brought to the Indian Ocean, however, the fresh accession of a people who had no idea of political power. These were the Phœnicians who allied themselves with the Hebrews so long as these latter were powerful, but threw in their lot with the Egyptians when the Hebrews retired. This change of power led to the circumnavigation of Africa in 608 B.C. under Necho II, King of Egypt. For the next six centuries the Ocean trade became mere transit trade and in consequence insignificant. It made no difference to this trade when Darius Hystaspes (sixth century B.C., 522—485 B.C.) completed the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, begun by Rameses II, nor when Ptolemy Philadelphus (284—247 B.C.) restored this canal from its ruins. It made no difference to their trade that Nebuchadnezzar founded primarily for commerce the city of Teredon at the mouth of Euphrates and improved the channels of this river and the Tigris. The Achaemenids, while they guaranteed the security of the land routes and kept them open, ruined all the sea trade and the rise and fall of empires in Western Asia destroyed the wholesale commerce of the Phœnicians which could not be revived even by the greatest efforts of the South Arabians. Alexander the Great with a keen perception of the importance of their trade founded Alexandria, the focus of the trade of the Ancient World, which alas! it could become in fact only some centuries after his death. His exploration of the mouth of the Indus, his deputation of Nearchus and his fleet to sail from this point

to the mouth of Euphrates, the improvements he effected to navigate this river up to Babylon and the founding of Charax by him at the mouth of the Tigris, his attempt to reopen the long neglected route from the Persian Gulf round Arabia, and his plan for the circumnavigation of Africa—all these alike bear eloquent testimony as much to the genius of the author as to the importance of the object. His early death brought all these to an abrupt end. The struggle, for mastery among his earlier successors, and for very existence among the later ones did not afford much scope for such farseeing enterprises. The magnificent activity of the Great Macedonian Monarch did not, however, prove altogether barren of result. The Ptolemies (312 B.C.—30 B.C.) became, as rulers of Egypt, heir to Alexander's exploring and commercial ambitions and these continued the traditional Egyptian policy. The construction of the canal to the Pelusian arm of the Nile, the founding of ports (among them Berenice, not far from Suakim) on the Red Sea, and the securing of the old route to Coptos, all under the Ptolemies, had the effect of raising the traditional transit trade into oversea trade, though still on a very modest scale, to blossom later on into full Ocean commerce under their Roman successors.

After Alexander's invasion, India came into touch with the outer world to a far greater extent than ever she did before, and what is more she came into touch with the outer world both by way of land and, to a smaller extent perhaps, by way of the sea. To this latter consummation the Ptolemies appear to have contributed largely, and the fact of such communication is put beyond doubt by the Greek inscription at Edfu referring to Sophon Indos (Subhanu, the Indian) and by the Papyrus of Oxyrhynchus. Oversea communication to India by way of Egypt was clearly established when in 30 B.C. the Romans became masters of Egypt. With their advent in this region, maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean takes a fresh start and the lucky venture of the Greek Hippalos (first century B.C.), which led to the discovery of the monsoons, was the crowning achievement of the series of nautical enterprises over a long stretch of time. It was Cape Fartak (Greek Syagrus) about the centre of the south coast of Arabia, that was the starting point and the ports of the Malabar Coast were the objective of these enterprises.

Almost directly after the annexation of Egypt, Augustus received an embassy from India, presumably from the South. A later embassy came to him from the Pandion thus indicating clearly that the Romans were in touch with the south of the country and not like their Greek predecessors, with the North. Both Pliny and Strabo (first century A.D.) complained of the heavy drain of gold from Rome into India, and this question assumed such gravity under Tiberius that the Senate considered how best they could stem this outflow of gold. Senate and savants notwithstanding the Romans were plying a brisk trade with India, the



magnitude of which was completely altered by the discovery of Hippalos. India ceased, as in the later days of Portuguese discovery, to be the goal of the West. Ceylon, and further the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) came within their purview and this brought them into touch with the Chinese, the Phœnicians (commercial power) of the East. Kattigura, whether it be Tonquin or Canton, became the great meeting place and mart of exchange between the Far East and the West. All this commercial activity lasted on down to the reign of Caracalla early in the third century A.D. as has been pointed out in a former issue of the *Mythic Society's Journal* (vide *India at the Dawn of the Christian Era*, vol. i, pt. ii).

It was pointed out already that the Romans ventured upon Ocean commerce when they found the land route impossible because of the Parthians, while the most enterprising among their Greek predecessors were under no such necessity, because of land communication. In considering Chinese enterprise upon the Indian Ocean, it has to be borne in mind that the Chinese were influenced by similar considerations. During the period covered above the Chinese had been constantly threatened by the great tribes which are known by the generic name Hiung-nu. It was the first great Emperor of China that felt the need for protection against these barbarians and completed the Great Wall 220—210 B.C. Under his successors of the Western Han Dynasty war against the western barbarians proved unavailing, and one of the rulers of the dynasty sought peace by a marriage alliance with no improvement in the relations. It was the great Emperor Wou-ti (140—87 B.C.) that felt the enormous drain of blood and money in these campaigns. He attempted to get into political relations with the people in the rear of the Hiung-nu such as the Yueh-chi in Sogdiana. Chang Chien, the ambassador on the great mission, was taken prisoner on the western route but managed to reach his destination. He had to avoid that road on his return journey, and even on the Khotan Lob-nor road he was again taken prisoner by the Hiung-nu. He managed at last to return to China in 126 B.C., but was sent on another mission to Turkestan. It was on this occasion that he brought back peace ensuring regular intercourse with Central Asia. He it was that brought to China report of the existence of Buddhism in India, one great stimulus to intercourse with that country, as also the cultivation of the grape, pomegranate, and lucerne. It was in this reign that the Chinese Empire extended in all directions. It included the Southern Provinces and Yunan and what was more Cochin-China was annexed. This expansion southwards brought China into the commercial circle of the Indian Ocean. Peaceful missions were dispatched to Sogdiana and Parthia. All this effort on the western side was to keep the high ways of trade clear of the marauding tribes and had but partial success.

None the less was it necessary to secure a share of the trade of the western world to ease the financial strain of the wars.

In the first century B.C. then while the trade of the Indian Ocean littoral was developing into Ocean commerce through the discovery of the south-west monsoon, the Chinese also came into touch with the eastern half of the ocean. The maritime enterprise of the Chinese waxes and wanes according as the other commercial peoples show less activity or more. It is doubtful if the China silks, valued highly in India, came by way of land or by way of the sea; but there seems to have been some early trade in this article at least. So long as the overland route remained closed, it was indispensable to have the sea route open to come into touch with the West. If the Romans, or may be their Greek predecessors before them, ventured eastwards into Indonesia or Malacca, the Chinese sailed no farther West than this. There seem to have been Chinese marts in Ceylon and the east coast of India earlier than the Roman entry into this region. When the Romans sailed up to Kattigura, the Chinese retreated, their purpose being trade and trade alone. It was seen that Roman trade in the East ceased early in the third century A.D. with the Emperor Caracalla's accession. It is in that century that Chinese trade advanced westwards. The Romans ceasing to sail up to Kattigura, the Chinese advanced westwards to Penang and Malacca where they are found in the middle of the fourth century A.D. About the end of the century they advanced to Ceylon which offered the additional attraction of the teaching of the Buddha to the commercial. This was a goal that they strove to reach again and again; and by the middle of the fifth century they carried themselves forward up to the Persian Gulf and the town of Hira on the Euphrates. If Edrisi is to be believed at all they went up to Aden and the other ports of the Red Sea. All this forward move ceased about A.D. 700, although, by now, they had secured a firm hold upon Ceylon which remained the emporium between the East and West to the middle of the eighth century A.D.

During the seven centuries of the pendulum-like oscillations of Chinese trade, there were revolutions in Western Asia, which affected this trade considerably. In this part of the Indian Ocean took place a phenomenon similar to the ousting of the Dutch from the carrying trade of the West in the seventeenth century A.D. The Greco-Roman trade was gradually ousted and its place was alike gradually being taken by the inhabitants of the western littoral of the Indian Ocean.

The Indians themselves did not look upon this development of the flourishing commerce with indifference, and it was, perhaps, in this period that they made the advance to the East. The evidence of Indian influence in Indonesia is so great that active intercourse is undeniable. In the region of Indonesia there sprang into importance a people called

the Malays who began seriously to compete with, and at one period supersede, the Chinese. But up to Ceylon the Chinese continued to ply their trade. It was beyond this limit that the Chinese were completely deprived of their trade by the consolidation of the Persian power under the Sassanids (A.D. 227—651). Raising their kingdom to the rank of a great power, they gained absolute possession of the trade of the Persian Gulf. Hence their monopoly remained unchallenged as neither the Indians nor the powerful inhabitants of the kingdom of Hira had any other route available. It was from Khosru II of this dynasty that the Chalukya Pulikesin II received the embassy, depicted in a fresco painting at Ajanta, in A.D. 625-6.

Like the Persian, Arabian and Indian merchantmen sailed to Ceylon or to the port opposite on the Indian coast Tondi, to receive the wares brought in Chinese junks, particularly silk, cloves, aloes-wood, etc., with a view to carry these commodities across the Persian Gulf. On the Red Sea, however, Persian influence did not make such headway as to abolish Roman influence, so that Berenice Troglodyticæ, the far-famed port, flourished up to the fourth century A.D. Even in the days of Justinian (A.D. 527-40) the ships of the Eastern Roman Empire sailed from Klisma and ancient Elath through the Red Sea to India. It is in this way that the Romaka Siddhanta of the astronomers and the Yavanapura meridian (meridian of Alexandria) must have come into India. The unusually firm hold that the Persians maintained on the Euphrates valley made it impossible to break their monopoly of the western trade along the shortest route. Hence the Red Sea presented itself as the only avenue of communication between the East and the West. The expanding trade demands of the Byzantine court, as well as of the civilized Mediterranean world, found the shipping industry of Klisma and Elath inadequate, and Justinian found it necessary to seek the alliance of other States favourably situated to supplement the efforts of these. These allies were the Ethiopians of the Auxumitic kingdom at the entrance to both the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea (Somaliland, Abyssinia). This would naturally mean a lapse back into transit trade. This movement failed to turn the flank of the Persians who had firmly secured their connexion with India by an alliance with the western power of the early Chalukyas, their contemporaries. Every attempt at dislodging them, therefore, left them stronger than they were before.

The advent of Muhammad and the development of Islām under his immediate successors brought Islām into touch at one sweep with both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, but it was only in the region of the Indian Ocean that their influence was at all lasting. It is in this ocean alone that their power took an Oceanic character. Pre-Islamic Arabs were accustomed to sea-faring. The migration of the Ge-ez nations of

South Arabia to Abyssinia and the navigation of the peoples of Hira and Aden would be proof of this; but anything like a deliberate oversea policy they never adopted in their pre-islamic days. Soon after the death of Muḥammad the neo-Persian kingdom lay shattered by the powerful hand of 'Umar (A.D. 634-44), and it seemed as if the Indian Ocean was about to lapse back into its usual state of comparative insignificance. This was the more likely as about the year A.D. 641 the whole of nearer Asia and Egypt fell under the yoke of Islām. The Indian Ocean thus became a vaster Arabian Sea. From Suez and Massowah to Karachi and the Indus, its waves washed the shore under the dominion of the Khalifs, both Ommeiad and 'Abbaside. It became possible for the world commerce of those days to fall into the hands of the Arabs alone. For the first time in the authenticated history of the Indian Ocean has one's attention to be divided between two routes, the immemorial East to West and the now modern North to South. The claim of the Arabs to historical greatness in this region consists in their expansion towards the East Coast of Africa where alone the Arabs asserted their capacity to resist the world powers of modern times.

The fall of Persia and the possession of several of the commercial ports made the Arabs see the necessity for seaward enterprise for their prosperity. The founding Basra or Bassora and Baghdād testify to their political foresight and their knowledge of the geographical requirements of commerce. The Arab fleets are seen on the coasts of India as early as A.D. 637. It was necessary for them, however, to drive out the Persians from the sea where they continue to be all-powerful even after the fall of the Sassanids, A.D. 641; nay, in fact, the Parsis found a home in India from the cruel hands of 'Umar and must keep their commerce as a prime necessity of their existence. For two centuries, therefore, the two peoples managed to trade upon the Indian Ocean in peaceful harmony and in the early decades kept to the old time-honoured paths of commerce without going beyond Ceylon, as Chinese commerce at the time went up to the shores of the Persian Gulf. When about A.D. 700 the Persians and the Arabs ventured boldly across the Bay of Bengal owing to improvements in their ship-building and the knowledge of the compass, the Chinese retired as was habitual with them. The meeting place between the East and the West became Kalah on the Straits of Malacca instead of Ceylon. Up to the thirteenth century when again the Chinese began their rhythmical westward movement, thanks to the stimulus to navigation given by Kublai Khán and to the enterprise of the Venetian Marco Polo, then in the Great Khán's service, the ponderous Chinese junks begin to make their appearance far into the West, and their visits to Calicut and Ormuz were quite frequent, although their terminal port was in Ceylon as in the previous periods.

It was in this period of their maritime activity that they attempted discovery and conquest. They made one voyage of discovery to Makdishu in East Africa. In the first half of the fifteenth century the monarchs of the Ming dynasty subjugated Ceylon and with this Chinese activity in the Indian Ocean reached its culminating point. By the middle of the fifteenth century China disappeared from the Indian Ocean and this time permanently. The repeated attempts of China, spread over more than a thousand years, to keep in touch with the West were barren of consequences either to China or the West.

But one fact of significance must be noted. It is now that the nautical spirit of the Malays and their maritime capacity emerge out of the obscurity that hitherto shrouded them. The most nautical among the peoples of Indonesia, their maritime achievements were limited by their geographical surroundings. Their early voyages before the Chinese venture in those regions were probably not the first in their history. No exact information, however, is available except to trace with tolerable clearness how the Western Archipelago and Java came into certain relation with India and how both Brahmanism and Buddhism found their way thither. It was only when the Malays abandoned their insular position from a correct appreciation of its political and economic narrowness that they achieve anything worthy. The founding of Singapore in A.D. 1160 from the old empire of Menangkabau marks the beginning of their power which extended in the course of the next centuries to the great part of Indonesia and found conspicuous expression in the prosperity of Malacca founded in A.D. 1252, through which for many centuries the whole commerce from West to East passed. It was the ordinance of an unkind destiny that at the very moment when they were ready for a larger development of their nautical abilities that the era of European enterprise in the Indian Ocean dawned. Piracy, which had been greatly esteemed by the Malays even before, had since become their almost exclusive occupation till it was put down in comparatively recent times. One feat on a large scale was, however, performed by them and that was the occupation of the island of Madagascar, an event ascribed to any time between the first and the twelfth centuries A.D.

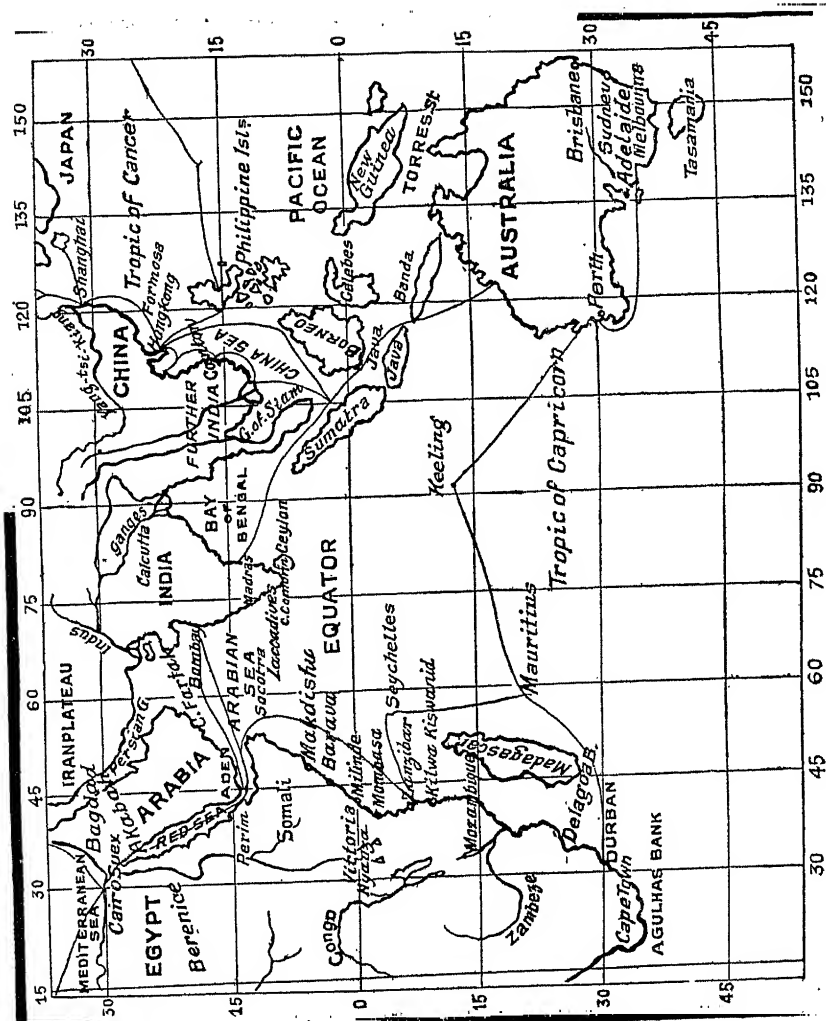
The Arab adventures on the western shores of the Indian Ocean had left more lasting results. They sailed from Yemen down the coast of Africa, from which the Greeks kept aloof, even beyond the Equator down to the end of the second century A.D. Before the advent of Islám, however, these voyages were purely commercial. About a century after the Hijra the connexion with the South was drawn closer. Where formerly there were only factories, fortified towns sprang up. Round these towns were grouped little kingdoms, small in size, but able to influence and change, nationality and customs, religion and type of the settled

population. Makdishu and Barawa, Malindi and Mombasa, but especially Kilwa-Kiswani, flourished for many centuries as centres of these States, by whose maintenance for fully nine hundred years the Arab nation has given the most brilliant proof of historical strength and permanence. Despite all their familiarity and maritime activity the chartography of the Indian Ocean was not well understood till quite modern times. The Indian Ocean was imagined to be a long and narrow continuation of the Mediterranean turned south. This was not all. It was taken to be an inland sea like the Mediterranean with an imaginary southern land boundary formed by twisting the east coast of Africa to run due East and West at the southern extremity of the ocean. This was carried in imagination to meet Asia somewhere in the far East. Ptolemy the geographer accepted this notion and perpetuated it, as the idea passed down through the Arabs to the Europe of the middle ages, notwithstanding that the Arabs were familiar with the African coast line along Somaliland and Zanzibar. This false notion had two important results. It confined the activity of the Arabs, because of a desire to keep near home, to the east coast of Africa except for an occasional voyage or two to the unknown Sendsh Coast—a name they gave to the 'Terra Australis' or Ethiopian Australia of Ptolemy. The idea of such a continent in the South Indian Ocean made it remain a problem it was impossible for the middle ages of Europe to solve.

This early notion as to its imagined character made it an impossible barrier between the imperfect civilization that bordered on it. Hence from the earliest time the navigation of the ocean was avoided by a detour or was conducted by coasting or was placed under the control of the monsoons entirely. The high roads of the sea followed the time-honoured lines of latitude except when the Arabs made their occasional voyages either to Sendsh or to Sofala, from the period of Phœnician enterprises in the second millennium B.C. down to the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. All their intercourse, the Chinese conquest of Ceylon and the Arab conquest of India excepted, was one-sided and devoted to commerce. Its importance lay in the civilizing of mankind. In this exchange of the products of the East and West, the latter was always the recipient and then, as now, the balance of trade was against Europe. During the last third of the period covered above, it was the West Asiatic peoples that were the carrying agents—principally the Persians and later on the Arabs. When these latter swept into a political and intellectual world-power, the time-honoured connexion between the Mediterranean world was snapped—'whether it is a question of obtaining rare spices, dyes, or luxuries, or of the introduction of the Indian system of numerals, or of the widening of the knowledge of medicine and mathematics, of geography and astronomy, the result is always the same; the nations that command

the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf are inevitably the agents. The Indian Ocean after the seventh or eighth century A.D. bears the stamp of a purely Asiatic Sea, with possibly a faint African mixture.'

The Indian Ocean like the Pacific was thus removed from the vision of the Europeans who have had to re-discover and open it up; that this happened simultaneously with the opening up of the Pacific and the Atlantic belongs to the chapter of accidents, but the discovery itself is due to the course of internal development of the European nations that took part in it; the difference in the course of the work of exploration was due to geographical conditions and belongs entirely to modern history and European enterprise.







# THE BRAHMANAIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY<sup>1</sup>

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

*December 19, 1910*

BY MR. M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As it is customary with us in the East to begin a subject like this with an invocatory verse, let me open the lecture with a few lines from a Western poet (JOHN LANGHORNE), whose pious sentiments deserve to be echoed by all nations in the world:—

Light of the World! Immortal Mind!  
Father of all the human kind!  
Whose boundless eye, that knows no rest,  
Intent on nature's ample breast,  
Explores the space of earth and skies,  
And sees eternal incense rise!  
To Thee, my humble voice I raise;  
Forgive, while I presume to praise.

These lines, as rendered into Sanskrit in my *Parivṛitti-ratnamālā*, run thus:—

लोकैकभानो! परमाव्ययात्मन्! विभ्राजसे त्वं जनको नराणाम् ।  
दिव्यं त्वदीयं नयनं निबद्धं सृष्टेर्विशालोरसि निर्निमेषम् ॥  
सर्वत्र भूम्यां गगनेऽपि चक्षुस्सञ्चारितं पश्यति ते सपर्याम् ।  
स्तोतुं भवन्तं मम वाक्प्रवृत्ता क्षन्तव्यमेतद्वहु साहसं मे ॥

<sup>1</sup> To treat of *Religion* separately from *Philosophy* is, from the Hindu point of view, an impossible task, as in India especially we see the two mixed up so closely that we cannot think of the one apart from the other. (*Vide* my 'Paper on Kālidāsa's Religion and Philosophy'—contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, 1910.)

Oh, may I still Thy favour prove  
 Still grant me gratitude and love,  
 Let truth and virtue guard my heart;  
 Nor peace, nor hope, nor joy depart:  
 But yet, whate'er my life may be  
 My heart shall still repose on Thee!  
 To Thee, my humble voice I raise;  
 Forgive, while I presume to praise.

Which again reads in Sanskrit thus:—

देव प्रसादं तव कामयेऽहं भक्तिं ममाधेहि कृतज्ञतां च ।  
 धर्मस्ससत्यो रमतां मदीये खान्तेऽनुयातः क्षमया मुदा च ।  
 वृत्तं मम स्यादिह कीदृशं वा चित्तं तु सक्तं सततं त्वयि स्यात् ।  
 स्तोतुं भवन्तं मम वाक्प्रवृत्ता क्षन्तव्यमेतद्बहु साहसं मे ॥

The Executive Council of the Mythic Society have done me a great honour by allowing me the opportunity of addressing this learned audience. I shall deem myself very fortunate if what I am going to say to-night should be found acceptable to this audience as giving a fairly correct idea of the Brāhmaṇaic systems of Religion and Philosophy.

Much has been written, no doubt, and by eminent scholars, on the Vēdānta Philosophy. But so far, the Vēdānta Philosophy has come to mean the Advaita Philosophy as taught by the followers of Śaṅkarācārya. Very little was known of the Dvaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita systems till very recently. The English translations of a few works of the Great Reformers—Śrī-Rāmaṇujācārya and Madhvācārya—have been made available to the public only within recent times; but the bulk of the religious and philosophical literature relating to these systems remains as yet untranslated. Thus the precious sentiments of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Saints and Sages, for example, which are preserved mostly in the Tamil language, are still a sealed book to Western scholars. Dr. Grierson, the well-known orientalist, bears testimony to the treasure of pious thoughts contained in the Dravidian Religious Literature, and has recently published the translations of some valuable works in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive study of the religious or philosophical systems of India may not be quite possible to foreign scholars, who have not made a personal investigation of the creeds and beliefs of the people, as professed in the present day.<sup>2</sup> This defect has

<sup>1</sup> *Vide*, for instance, Translation of Artha-Pañchaka, by A. Gōvindhācārya of Mysore (J.R.A.S., July, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Monier Williams's *Religious Thought and Life in India*—(Preface to the First Edition).

been noticed of late by orientalists, and it is a matter of great pleasure to all that attempts are now being made to study the 'life of the man upon the soil'.

Dr. Grierson, in his Introduction to the Artha-Pañchaka, translated by A. Gōvindāchārya, says (J.R.A.S. for July, 1910):—'I have also left out a few quotations from European writers on the Bhāgavata doctrines whose views are familiar in this country, and, however valuable, do not possess the *authority of an Indian Professor of the religion*'. It would, therefore, be very profitable if Indian scholars are invited to co-operate with European scholars in the attempt to trace and collect the secret treasures contained in the religious and philosophical systems of India. The labours of orientalists in this field of literature, till now, have no doubt been very laudable; but their conclusions, we are sorry to observe, have become mostly one-sided. Even the latest among them have wrongly identified the Vēdānta, as a whole, with only one of its several aspects; and have given it the most misleading title of *Indian Pantheism*. Very few of them have earnestly studied the religious beliefs and philosophical views now current among the peoples of South India. It is a well-known fact that South India was the cradle of Brāhmanaic revival. The great reformers, Śankarāchārya, Rāmānujāchārya, Madhvāchārya, all belong to South India; and it is from the teachings of these that a few northern reformers imbibed their spiritual knowledge in later times. Even to-day the Pandits of South India are held in great esteem and veneration by the North Indian scholars and are considered authorities in matters relating to Religion and Philosophy,—as being the custodians of the teachings of the great Ācharyas of old.

It is here in the South of India that the renowned Drāviḍa Saints (the authors of the 4,000 Divya Prabandha works) and the great Sages who wrote their precious commentaries on them, lived and worked for the elevation of the masses, irrespective of caste or creed.<sup>1</sup>

The three great Brāhmanaic communities—the Smārtas, the Śrī Vaishṇavas and the Mādhvas—have their representative Maṭhas established by the great Reformers in the South, and the Gurus of these Maṭhas command pre-eminence even to-day, throughout India—the majority of the northern devotees being their disciples.

Thus we see that South India is the proper place where the Brāhmanaic religions can be best studied.

It may be observed that all the Brāhmanaic systems of religion in India can be comprised within the three well-known original systems based on the Vēdānta, viz.: (1) the *Ādvaita*, (2) the *Dvaita*, and (3) the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*; all other schools founded on the Vēdānta, are each of

<sup>1</sup> See my Introduction to the *Upadēśa-raṁamālā*, Ananda Press, Madras.

them seen to be, an off-shoot from, or a sub-division of, one or the other of these *three* main systems.

My duty to-night will, therefore, be to lay before you a brief sketch of these three systems of Brāhmanaic Religion and Philosophy. It is hardly necessary for me to say that, in the short space of an hour, I cannot be expected to do full justice to these great systems. All that I can hope to do is to mention a few leading points in the doctrines of the respective systems; and by comparing them briefly, to draw some inference as to the nature of the tenets common to all the Vēdāntic schools of thought.

Let us first note briefly what the terms *Advaita*, *Dvaita* and *Viśiṣṭādvaita* mean.

The Advaita system recognizes only one entity called Brahman or Ātman and holds the world to be unreal. Hence the name *Advaita* (non-Dualism or Monism). This system is generally represented by the Smārta community among the Brāhmins.

The Dvaita system recognizes all the three entities—matter, soul and God; and holds that they are entirely distinct from one another, and that no two of them can be identified. Hence it is called the *Dvaita* (Dualism). This system is represented by the Mādhva community of the Brāhmins.

The Viśiṣṭādvaita also recognizes all the three entities—matter, soul and God; but holds that, although they are by nature distinct from one another, God or the Supreme Soul is often identified (in the Upanishads) in a figurative sense with the Universe of matter and souls—which is (as it were) His body. Matter and souls being the inseparable attributes of God at all times—in a subtle or *sūkṣma* stage before creation, and in a gross or *sthūla* stage after creation, this system lays stress on the Identity of God in both these stages. Hence it is called the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (Qualified Monism). This system is represented by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava community of the Brahmins.

With this preliminary idea about the *three* terms, let us now proceed to examine the origin of these three systems.

It may be observed at the outset that the Brahmanic religious or philosophical system presents itself in *three* phases from the earliest times known to history or literature. To say that there was only one religion throughout India at some remote age is to ignore the contents of the Upanishads and other philosophical texts on which the Brahmanic religious systems are based. The Upanishads contain clear references to *three* schools of thought current in India from time immemorial. There are *three* distinct classes of passages in the Upanishads—

(i) अमेदश्रुतयः (Non-Dualistic Texts)—or passages that apparently declare the existence of only one Reality (Ātman or Brahman), and speak of all differences as unreal.

(ii) भेदश्रुतयः (Dualistic Texts) or passages that openly declare the distinctions between matter, souls and God (i.e. distinctions between every two individuals among them)—all the three being treated as real entities.

(iii) षट्कश्रुतयः (Reconciling Texts) or passages that reconcile the above two apparently contradictory classes of texts—by proving *diversity in unity*.

A few examples will make this division of the Vedantic texts obvious.—

(i) *Non-Dualistic Texts* (अभेदश्रुतयः)

- (1) 'There is nothing here that is many and varied. He who sees this world as though it is varied, obtains death from death.'  
(*Brih. Up.*, iv. 4.)
- (2) 'But where there is duality, as it were, there one sees another; but where to one all this becomes Ātman, there who shall see whom; (shall see) by what; and who shall know, which, and by what?'  
(*Brih. Up.*, ii. 4-4.)
- (3) 'That which is all this is this Ātman.'  
(*Brih. Up.*, iv. 5-7.)
- (4) 'For whenever he perceives in Him even the smallest distinction, then indeed there is fear for him.'  
(*Tai. Up.*, ii. 7-1.)
- (5) 'He who knows the Brahman becomes the Brahman alone.'  
(*Mund. Up.*, ii. 3-9.)
- (6) 'He is not all this. Let him worship Him as Ātman Himself.'  
(*Brih. Up.*, i. 4-7.)
- (7) 'Existence alone, my dear child, this was at the beginning;—one only, without a second.'  
(*Chhānd. Up.*, vi. 2-1.)
- (8) 'That thou art.'  
(*Chhānd. Up.*, vi. 8-7.)
- (9) 'One alone, Nārāyaṇa, was (at the beginning).'
- (10) 'All this was at first one alone, the Ātman.'  
(*Āitarēya Up.*, i. 1-1.)

(ii) *Dualistic Texts* (भेदश्रुतयः)

- (a) (Soul and God clinging to matter) 'Two birds, which possess similar attributes and are inseparable friends, cling to the same tree; one of them eats the sweet fruits of the Pippala tree, while the other shines in splendour without eating at all.'  
(*Mund. Up.*, iii. 1-1.)
- (b) (God and the Universe) 'The two un-born, the intelligent and the non-intelligent, are the Lord and the non-Lord.'  
(*Śvet. Up.*, i. 9.)
- (c) (Characteristics of the soul as distinguished from matter and God.)  
'Then whoever feels "I smell this," that is the soul.'  
(*Chhānd. Up.*, viii. 12-4.)

'Who is the soul? He is that person who is luminous in the proximity to the Prāṇas in the heart and wholly consists of knowledge.' (*Bṛih. Up.*, iv. 3-7.)

'He is indeed, the seer, the hearer, the taster, the smeller, the thinker, the knower, the doer, and is the person who is made up of intelligence.' (*Praśna. Up.*, iv. 9.)

'Having known the soul (Ātman) and (God) the Prime-mover (Prēritṛi) as separate from one another.' (*Śvet. Up.*, i. 6.)

'He, the cause, is the Lord of (souls) the lords of the senses.' (*Śvet. Up.*, vi. 9.)

The Lord of matter (Pradhāna) and souls (Kshētrajñas), the Master of the qualities. (*Śvet. Up.*, vi. 16.)

From this, the Mayin (God) creates, this Universe; and in that is another (the soul) fettered by Māyā. (*Śvet. Up.*, iv. 9.)

'Having learnt that, and being freed from name (*nāma*) and form (*rūpa*), attains the Divine Person, who is the most Supreme.' (*Mund. Up.*, iii. 2-8.)

### (iii) *Reconciling Texts* (घटकश्रुतयः)

- (1) 'May I become manifold and be born.' (*Chhānd. Up.*, vi. 2-3.)
- (2) 'He thought—May I create the worlds.' (*Ait. Up.*, i. 1-1.)
- (3) 'The eternal among the eternal, the intelligent among the intelligents, who, though One, fulfils the desires of the many.'

(*Katha. Up.*, v. 13, and *Śvet. Up.*, vi. 13.)

- (4) 'He who has entered within is the ruler of all things that are born and is the Soul of all.'

(*Yajur-Āraṇyaka*, iii. 20.)

- (5) 'He whose body is the soul.'

(*Bṛih. Up.*, v. 7-22.)

- (6) 'He whose body is the earth.'

(*Bṛih. Up.*, v. 7-3.)

- (7) 'What exists within that small space inside the heart, that is to be sought after.'

(*Chhānd. Up.*, viii. 1-1.)

- (8) 'Of whatever nature a man's worship is in this world, of that same nature that man becomes after death.'

(*Chhānd. Up.*, iii. 14-1.)

- (9) 'From whom all these things are born, in whom when born they live, and whom they enter when they perish, do thou desire to know that well; that is the Brahman.'

(*Taitt. Bṛigu*, i. 1.)

- (10) 'He who understands and knows all.'

(*Mund. Up.*, i. 1-9.)

It is to be observed that of these classes of texts, (1) the *Advaita* system recognizes the authority of the Non-Dualistic Texts alone, and rejects the rest as referring to the *vyāvahārika* (the apparent and not the real) side of knowledge; (2) the *Dvaita* system attaches importance

to the Dualistic Texts only and tries to explain away the rest; (3) whereas the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system reconciles the Non-Dualistic and the Dualistic Texts by the application of the remaining class of texts (वटकश्रुतयः)—thus recognizing the authority of all the Upanishadic passages.<sup>1</sup>

We thus see that the Upanishads present to us *three* different stages of thought, although they are to be construed together so as to give us a consistent idea. Hence it is that all the three systems—the Advaita, the Dvaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita trace their doctrines to the common source—the Upanishads. It is true that these three systems have, for their common authorities, several later treatises also, such as the Brahma-Sūtras, the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Smritis, the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. But it is a gross mistake to suppose that the Advaita system had its origin in Śaṅkarāchārya, the Dvaita system in Madhvāchārya and the Viśiṣṭādvaita in Rāmānujāchārya. These Great Reformers only *renovated* the three systems that had been already formulated by their predecessors;<sup>2</sup> and, by writing their valuable commentaries (Bhāṣyas), came to be known as the *Bhāṣyakāras* of the respective systems.

We have thus shown that the germs of these three systems are found in the Upanishads themselves; and the chronological order of the three great Reformers above named has therefore nothing to do with the order of treatment that I have herein adopted, to facilitate comparison—viz. (first) the Advaita system, (secondly) the Dvaita system and (thirdly) the Viśiṣṭādvaita system.

### THE ADVAITA SYSTEM

TAKING the Upanishadic passage—‘*Tat-tvam-asi*’—‘That thou art’, one can see that the word ‘*That*’ represents the Supreme Being (or Para-Brahman), the word ‘*thou*’ represents any individual being or soul (jīvātman) that is addressed, and the verb ‘*art*’ shows the identity of the two beings (represented by *That* and *thou*).

The whole philosophy of the Advaita system is based on the meaning of passages similar to the above.

There is only one entity according to this school—called *Ātman* or *Brahman*. The term *Advaita* means *non-dualism* or *monism*. To identify it with *Pantheism*, as some scholars have done, is not correct, as the Advaitin holds that the Universe is unreal.

<sup>1</sup> Every Vedantic scholar should admit that the Upanishads are, as a whole, a consistent embodiment of philosophical thought; and any interpretation given of them can be considered *sound*, only if such interpretation is capable of elucidating *all* the passages in the Upanishads, as giving a consistent idea throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the lists of Āchāryas that preceded these Reformers and to their valuable works among the *Guru-paramparais* of the three sects.



The *Ātman* (or Brahman) is one only and supreme, and all the worlds that seem to have been created by the Supreme Being are in the manner of dreams. These are the creations of *avidyā* or nescience which belongs to the Supreme Being *Itself*. This *avidyā* is *anādi* or without a beginning and is the cause of the various illusory manifestations in the world.

'Sankarāchārya maintains that the knowledge of self is the constant basis of all other kinds of knowledge. That is, the primary and self evident intuition of self is the basis of all other kinds of knowledge, whether perceptive or inferential, direct or indirect, present, past or future. As we cannot *know* the external objects without *knowing* the self as its knower, we may infer that we cannot *think* of any object without *thinking* of the same self as its knower. Thus the Universe exists only relative to knowledge.'<sup>1</sup>

From this relativity of the world to knowledge, it would appear that there are two distinct entities, viz.—

- (1) the self or soul as the subject of knowledge and
- (2) the world as the object of knowledge.

But this distinction is apparent (व्यावहारिक) and not real (परमार्थिक). The essence of the self or soul is knowledge. Every object that presents itself before this self or soul is found to be pervaded by knowledge; therefore no object can be distinct from self, which in its essence is knowledge. It follows therefore that in every act of knowledge, there is only one undivided entity—call it self or soul or knowledge—which is both subject and object, because it knows only itself and nothing else. There is in fact no *knower* or agent (ज्ञाता), and nothing *knowable* (ज्ञेय); there is only *knowledge* (ज्ञान). And this knowledge is called *Ātman* or *Brahman*. The whole world which is full of manifestations in the form of *knowers* (or souls) and *knowables* (objects) is unreal; whereas *Knowledge* alone, called *Ātman* or *Brahman*, is real. This is what constitutes the *Advaita* or *monistic* theory.

'Our knowledge of space and time cannot disprove this theory; for the world of time and space, the objective world, has no independent existence, but is comprehended in the self. The belief in its independent or real existence is the result of *avidyā* (nescience or ignorance)—which can be destroyed only by a true knowledge of Self or *Ātman*. With the merging of time and space in the self, the idea of a plurality of souls becomes groundless; and when the souls or agencies that introduce finitude into reality are shown to be unreal, finitude also disappears, and the Infinite alone remains.'

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Paṇḍit Sītānātha Tattva-bhūṣaṇ for some of the ideas and passages quoted here.

Thus our own self or soul, the soul in each of us, which seems to be finite, is really nothing but Brahman—generally represented by the words सत्यं, ज्ञानं, अनन्तं—which do not stand as attributes to Brahman, but only go to prove the Reality or Existence of only one entity, Brahman. Brahman is similarly identified with Bliss or *Ānanda*. All these terms should be taken to negative the reality of objects other than Brahman thus:—

सत्यं=(असत्याद्वावृत्तं)	other than Un-Truth.
ज्ञानं=(अज्ञानाद्वावृत्तं)	„ Ignorance.
अनन्तं—	„ Finitude.
आनन्दः—	„ Non-Bliss.

Thus we see that Brahman, according to the Advaitin, is निर्गुण or without attributes; for no qualifying epithets or attributes to Brahman can be admitted as real, as such admission would disprove the non-dualistic theory. No differentiating attributes (*viśeṣhas*) can be found in Brahman which is one undivided and infinite mass of knowledge—spoken of as *Akhaṇḍa-Sacchidānanda*.

This निर्गुणवाद again is based on the interpretation of some Upanishadic passages, and has been fully expounded by Śaṅkarāchārya in his works. The following stanzas from his *Aparōkṣhānubhūti* contain the essence of the foregoing theory:—

ब्रह्मैवाहं समश्शान्तस्सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणः ।  
 नाहं देहोऽह्यसद्रूपो ज्ञानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।  
 निर्विकारो निराकारो निरवद्योऽहमव्ययः ।  
 नाहं देहोऽह्यसद्रूपो ज्ञानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ॥  
 निरामयो निराभासो निर्विकल्पोऽहमाततः ।  
 नाहं देहोऽह्यसद्रूपो ज्ञानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ।  
 निर्गुणो निष्क्रियो नित्यो नित्यमुक्तोऽहमच्युतः ।  
 नाहं देहोऽह्यसद्रूपो ज्ञानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ॥  
 निर्मलो निश्चलोऽनन्तश्शुद्धोऽहमजरोऽमरः ।  
 नाहं देहोऽह्यसद्रूपो ज्ञानमित्युच्यते बुधैः ॥

So far, we have been considering the Advaita doctrine from the ideal or *pāramārthika* standpoint. But from the practical or *vyāvahārika*

standpoint, the Advaitins admit the whole universe to be real; and just like the other schools of the Vedānta, hold that the world has been created, is preserved and destroyed by *Īśvara* Brahman, from the व्यावहारिक standpoint, is called ईश्वर, and is supposed to contain all the good attributes that may be conceived of—as all-knowing, all-powerful, merciful, just, holy and as the friend and saviour of finite souls. This *practical* Brahman is, therefore, called सगुणब्रह्म (or Brahman with attributes), as distinguished from the *ideal* Brahman, which is named निर्गुणब्रह्म (or Brahman without attributes). The *ideal* Brahman which is the only Reality, appears to itself through the effect of *Avidyā* (Nescience) or *Māyā*, as practical Brahman, and when subject to this illusion of *Māyā*, sees *diversity* in *unity*. This *Avidyā* or *Māyā* is without a beginning; but it has an end. It is the ultimate cause of this संसारबन्ध or worldly bondage, which appears to us to be due to Karma. When *Brahman* realizes its true nature and attains its ideal or पारमार्थिक stage, *Avidyā* or *Māyā* vanishes, and there is *Mōksha* or freedom from bondage.

The practical or व्यावहारिक stage of Brahman is compared to our dreamy condition, and the world is compared to the things we see in our dreams. The world is also compared to the image that we see in the mirror, and is, therefore, said to have no real existence. When the ideal or पारमार्थिक stage is attained by Brahman, there will be an end of *Māyā*; and the world vanishes. Brahman will then realize its own undivided nature. This is compared to our condition when awake from a dream. The whole of this theory is summed up by Śaṅkarāchārya in the following introductory verse of the *Dakṣiṇā-mūrti-stōtra* :—

विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतं  
 पश्यन्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ।  
 यस्साक्षात्कुरुते प्रबोधसमये स्वात्मानमेवाद्वयं  
 तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥

We have now seen that Śaṅkarāchārya speaks of two kinds of *Brahman*—one real or ideal (पारमार्थिक), and the other unreal or practical (व्यावहारिक). The *unreal Brahman* or ईश्वर is placed at the head of all created beings and is called *Apara-Brahma* or कार्यब्रह्म—i.e. the Lower Brahman or the Effect-God; whereas the *real Brahman* is called

परब्रह्म or कारणब्रह्म—i.e. the Higher Brahman or the Cause-God. We have seen that the former is called सगुणब्रह्म and the latter as निर्गुणब्रह्म.

Śankarāchārya is a devout worshipper of सगुणब्रह्म (in the form of Vishṇu or Śiva) although he says that such a Being has no real existence from a philosophical point of view. The various *stōtras* composed by him are full of devotion to this सगुणब्रह्म; and one or two characteristic verses from his हरिमीडेस्तोत्र may be quoted as illustrating his pious sentiments:—

सर्वज्ञो यो यश्च हि सर्वस्सकलो यो  
 यश्चानन्दोऽनन्तगुणो यो गुणधामा ।  
 यश्चाव्यक्तो व्यक्तसमस्तस्सदसयः  
 तं संसारध्वान्तविनाशं हरिमीडे ॥  
 सर्वत्रास्ते सर्वशरीरी न च सर्वः  
 सर्वं वेत्त्येवेह न यं वेत्ति च सर्वः ।  
 सर्वत्रान्तर्यामितयेत्थं यमयन् यः  
 तं संसारध्वान्तविनाशं हरिमीडे ॥

Śankarāchārya is equally devoted to Vishṇu and Śiva; and he regards them as identical in spirit with the Supreme Being. Even the followers of Śankarāchārya, the *Smārtas* are all worshipping Vishṇu as well as Śiva in their houses and temples. In fact, the Advaita doctrine regards every living being in the Universe as identical with Brahman; and this accounts for Śankarāchārya's identifying his own Preceptor गोविन्दगुरु with God (Gōvinda or Vishṇu) in most of his *stōtras*.

*Mōksha* or liberation from the worldly bondage is also of two kinds, according to Śankarāchārya. Those who are devoted to the Lower Brahman (सगुणब्रह्म) will attain Brahma-lōka, which is described in the Śruti as the Abode of Brahman. Attainment of this Brahma-lōka is called आपेक्षिकी मुक्तिः or *relative liberation*. There will be no return from this Brahma-lōka to the earth, for the liberated souls live there for ages in close proximity to the Lower Brahman; and when this Brahman is merged in the Higher Brahman at the end of the cycle (कल्प), all the souls in the Brahma-lōka will share in his happy fate.

The higher kind of *Mōksha* known as परमोक्ष or *absolute liberation* is attained by the knowledge of one's perfect identity with Para-Brahman

(or Higher Brahman). The soul that attains this kind of liberation is called a *जीवन्मुक्त* (one that has attained liberation during this life on earth).

To attain this kind of liberation, no *Karma* (or fulfilment of duties) can serve as the direct means. *Jñāna* or Knowledge of Reality alone leads to this *absolute liberation*. *Karma*, in the form of the spiritual exercises enjoined in the *Śāstras*, can only purify and prepare the mind for the Path of Knowledge (*ज्ञानमार्ग*). There are four kinds of spiritual exercises (known as the *साधनचतुष्टय*) recognized by the Advaitins:—

- (1) *नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः*—or discrimination between eternal and transitory things ;
- (2) *इहामुल्लसत्फलभोगविरागः*—or non-attachment to the rewards of actions in this as well as in the other world ;
- (3) *शमदमादिसाधनसम्पत्*—or the securing of the various means, such as the control of the mind and the control of the external senses ; and
- (4) *मुमुक्षुत्वम्*—or desire for the final emancipation of the soul.

As regards *Bhakti* or Love of God, Śankarāchārya admits<sup>1</sup> that it is the most perfect means of attaining *Mōksha* ; but he identifies the highest form of *Bhakti* with *Jñāna*, as, according to him, *Bhakti* can secure *Mōksha* only through the Path of Knowledge (*ज्ञानमार्ग*).

### THE DVAĪTA SYSTEM

WE have already seen that this system is so called because it recognizes *द्वैत* or difference among the three categories—Matter, Souls and God. The word *Dvaita* strictly means *dualism*, and so it is used to denote difference (or *bhēda*).

According to this school, *Padārtha* or Reality (Category) is of two kinds:—

(I) Independent (*स्वतन्त्र*) and

(II) Dependent (*परतन्त्र*).

(I) *Independent Reality* or God is the glorious Vishnu, also called Para-Brahman, who is all-powerful and omniscient, and endowed with all auspicious attributes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'मोक्षकारणसामग्र्यं भक्तिरेव गरीयसी'—(*Vivēka-chūḍāmaṇi*).

(II) *Dependent Reality* is of two kinds:—

- (i) *positive* (भाव) and
- (ii) *negative* (अभाव).

Among the positive again, there are two classes:—

- (1) sentient (चेतन) or the souls and
- (2) non-sentient (अचेतन)—including matter, time, etc.

The sentient beings are of various kinds, the chief of them being:—

- (1) The Eternally Free (नित्या)—Goddess Lakshmi.
- (2) The Released Souls (मुक्ताः)—such as the Devas, Rishis, Pitris, Men, etc.
- (3) The Fettered (बद्धाः) of whom there are two divisions:—
  - (a) those that are eligible for release or *mōksha* and
  - (b) those that are not eligible for release.

Again those that are not eligible for release are—

- (1) either fit for Tamas (Dark Hell) or
- (2) eternally fettered (नित्यसंसारिणः)

Such being the classification of the categories according to the Dvaitins, they recognize five kinds of *difference* (भेद or द्वैत)—

जीवेश्वरमिदा चैव जडेश्वरमिदा तथा ।

जीवभेदो मिथश्चैव जडजीवमिदा तथा ।

मिथश्च जडभेदो यः प्रपञ्चो भेदपञ्चकः ॥

—(परमाश्रुतिः)

That is,

- Difference (1) between God and the sentient beings or individual souls;
- „ (2) between God and the non-sentient (matter, time, etc.);
- „ (3) between every two among the sentient beings (or souls);
- „ (4) between matter and souls; and
- „ (5) between every two amongst the material things.

This system is directly opposed to the Advaitin's doctrine of Monism or the identity of soul with God. The Dvaitins declare that the soul is entirely distinct from God, and can never be identified with Him. The

term *Brahman* is applicable only to the All-powerful *Vishnu*, as there is no other being that is perfect in all the excellent qualities. It is derived from the root बृह् which refers to the *infinite* nature of the Supreme Being—infinite with respect to time, space and qualities; and shows that the Supreme Being is quite distinct from all limited existences, and individual souls. The Vedānta declares that there is only one *Brahman*, and that Brahman is infinite or unlimited in nature. The word *Ātman*, as applied to God or Brahman, cannot be taken to mean the individual soul (limited *Ātman*), since devotion to that *Ātman* is stated to be the means of final release (or मोक्ष). It is totally inadmissible that the limited and the unlimited *Ātmans* merge together. Nor is it admissible that the different parts of the *Śruti* declare different Brahmanas, as the Advaitins hold.

The Supreme Being and his attributes are absolutely identical, and they can be still spoken of in different terms. The form seen during meditation by mere imagination is not Brahman or God, because He is *non-manifest*. It is by this non-manifest Para-Brahman (Supreme Being) or Vishnu (i.e. All-pervading) that the Universe is created, preserved, and destroyed; and all the changes in the Universe are subject to His Will. He is the sole dispenser of fruits to the deserving souls, according to their natural merits.

The mundane bondage (संसार) of the soul is a fact proved by the unmistakable evidence of *perception*; and freedom from this bondage can be attained only through the Grace of God. *Karma-yōga* or the discharge of pious duties enjoined in the Śāstras is only auxiliary to the attainment of knowledge or *Jñāna*. It is *knowledge* (of Brahman) or *Jñāna-yōga* that leads to final deliverance, by securing the Grace of God.

Study of the Vedānta (*Śāstra*) is the only means of knowing the Supreme Being. The power of words is quite capable of directly conveying the attributes of Brahman, who cannot be realized except by means of the Veda or *Śruti* (the Word). Devotion is the result of the knowledge of God's glory. Only those who possess devotion are fit to study the *Śāstra*.

All that desire for final deliverance or *mōksha* cannot attain it; for it is only the *eligible* few possessing the virtuous qualities, that are entitled to study the *Vedānta-Śāstra*; and this eligibility cannot be earned, as it must be found in the natural essence of the soul. Each individual soul has got its own peculiar natural characteristics of eligibility or ineligibility; and these can never be altered even by the Supreme Being. In short, no soul can hope to attain deliverance (मोक्ष), unless it possesses the

natural eligibility for such deliverance. Even among those who are eligible, no two souls can be found to possess the same degree of eligibility or qualifications. Hence it is that the fruits of deliverance will vary according to the degrees of eligibility of the souls. This is what is generally known as आनन्दतारतम्य or variety in Eternal Bliss. This doctrine is, it may be observed, peculiar to the *Madhvas*, among the Vedāntins.

According to this school, *Upāsana* means an inquiry into Brahman or God, and this includes study, investigation, reasoning, contemplation and meditation. In the absence of any obstruction, Brahman is seen in the very birth in which a soul has completed the course of inquiry (or *Upāsana*). Final deliverance or *mōksha* is certain in the case of those who have seen Brahman; but it can be actually realized only after the destruction of *Prārabdha-Karma* (or Karma the fruit of which is now being experienced); and this destruction of प्रारब्धकर्म may result (according to its intensity) either at the end of the very birth in which Brahman is seen, or in some later birth. *Mōksha* cannot be attained by seeing any form of Brahman, but only after seeing the particular form which the Preceptor or Guru prescribes for the soul. When the Preceptor says the sight has been gained, the soul has succeeded in realizing the particular form, and this is what is called (by the *Mādhvas*) बिम्बदर्शन.

When this बिम्बदर्शन has been secured, the previous and subsequent Karma (the effects of deeds, past and future) will be destroyed, and the *Prārabdha-Karma* alone will remain to be experienced by the soul before deliverance is attained.

According to this school, *Mōksha* or final deliverance from bondage involves four distinct stages—

- (1) Destruction of Karma,
- (2) Departure from the material body,
- (3) The Path to be travelled by the released, and
- (4) The attainment of Eternal Bliss.

After the final destruction of Karma, the eligible soul departs from the gross body and by means of the ethereal or subtle body (सूक्ष्मशरीर) travels in the *Archirādi-mārga* (the Path of *Archis*, etc.) to the Abode of God.

The released having reached Brahman enjoy the eternal blessings and remain for ever with Him and under His guidance. They are graded according to their devotion; and the absence of equality does not affect their blessedness. Those who attain *sāyujya-mōksha*, enjoy the blessings along with Brahman. Though they are divested of all material body,



still they can enjoy eternal blessings through the person of Brahman. All others (who attain *sālokya*, *sāmīpya* and *sārūpya* mōkshas) enjoy blessings by means of their spiritual body (which is purely composed of knowledge or *jñāna*). The released obtain all their desires by mere *will*; and they may assume, if they please, a body which is made of pure substance (शुद्धसत्त्व) and which is not the result of Karma. The Eternal Happiness enjoyed by the released does not become increased or diminished in the course of their enjoyment.<sup>1</sup>

### THE VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA SYSTEM

It has been already observed that the term *Viśiṣṭādvaita* signifies qualified monism. *Viśiṣṭa* means qualified, i.e. having as attributes *Chit* (Souls) and *Achit* (Matter); and *Viśiṣṭādvaita* may therefore be taken to signify One Reality—Para-Brahman (*Vishnu*) qualified by the attributes *Chit* and *Achit*. There are two stages for *Chit* and *Achit*—(1) the causal stage or कारणावस्था and (2) the effectual stage or कार्यवस्था. In the causal stage, i.e. before the evolution, they are said to be सूक्ष्म (subtle); whereas in the effectual stage, after the evolution, they are said to be स्थूल (gross). In both these stages, Brahman or the Supreme Being is qualified by the attributes, *Chit* and *Achit*. The Supreme Being is thus inseparably united with Matter and Souls; and the Universe of Matter and Souls forms the body of the Supreme Being. Thus the Supreme Being is not only the Soul of all Matter, but is the Soul of all Souls and is therefore called *Paramātman*. This relation between Brahman and the Universe is clearly established by several Vedic texts, such as—‘यस्यास्मा शरीरं.’ ‘यस्य पृथिवी शरीरम्’, ‘नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानां.’

It is an admitted fact that words referring to the body of a soul are often applied to the soul also, e.g. ब्राह्मणोऽहम् (I am a Brahman), क्षत्रियोऽसौ (He is a Kshattriya), शुक्लं (You are white). We use the word अहं (I) with reference to the body, when we say स्थूलोऽहं (I am stout), कृशोऽहं (I am lean); and ‘I’ denotes the soul in such examples as—‘I think’, ‘I feel pain or pleasure’, ‘I know this fact’. In the expression ‘*my body*’, the first person clearly refers to the soul.

In the same way, we find the Supreme Being (the Soul of the Universe) often referred to in the Upanishads by words that are properly

<sup>1</sup> Some of the ideas and expressions in the section relating to the Dvaita system have been borrowed from Mr. S. Subba Rao's translations of the Dvaita works.

applicable to Matter or Souls comprised in the Universe, which is the body of the Supreme Being. Hence arises the great confusion in the interpretation of the Vedic texts. For instance, the word आत्मन् (Ātman) is used to denote, in some places, the individual soul; and in other places, the Supreme Being. In fact, all names are capable of ultimately signifying the Supreme Being—in accordance with the Viśiṣṭādvaitic doctrine about the relation between God and the Universe (शरीरशरीरिभाव or the relation between the *body* and its *indweller*, the soul), e.g. *Indra* may refer to the Supreme Being, dwelling in the soul of *Indra* (इन्द्रान्तर्वा-मिन्). Passages like 'तत् त्वमसि' (That thou art) are also to be construed in accordance with this relation between God and the individual souls—each soul being recognized as a body of God. The passage तत्त्वमसि—'That thou art' can only mean 'God in thee is (the same as) that Supreme Being'; and can never be taken to imply an identity of the individual soul with God.

We thus see that the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, while asserting qualified monism, does not ignore the natural differences between the three entities—Matter, Soul and God. The attributes of God are as real as God Himself; that is, the Universe, is *not unreal*.

According to this system—'all knowledge is real' (सर्वं ज्ञानं यथार्थं). In refuting 'certain analogies generally given (by the Advaitin) to show that the scripture, which, being based upon *avidyā* or ignorance, is *unreal*, may form the means for the attainment of the highest reality known as the *Brahman*'—the following arguments are set forth by the Viśiṣṭādvaitic school. 'When auspicious and inauspicious dreams give rise to good and bad results in life, the dreams are indeed as really existent as the results they give rise to. When magic, medicinal herbs, incantations, etc., give rise to illusions which cause fear, love, and other emotions, the illusions are as real as the emotions themselves. Death may result from a suspicion of snake-bite and of poisoning; here the suspicion is as real as the death. The reflected image of a thing is as real as the thing itself. Dreams are real even in the absence of the reality of the objects corresponding to them, inasmuch as what is required to make anything the object and the basis of any cognition, is merely the manifestation of that thing to consciousness in some manner or other. Even in the case of the apprehension of the sounds of letters by means of the corresponding written signs, there is no *cognition of the real by means of the unreal*.'<sup>1</sup> Similar arguments hold good in disproving the unreality of the Universe.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Prof. M. Rangacharyar's Translation of the *Śrī-Bhāṣya*, p. xviii, (Introduction).

By these and other examples, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin proves that the Advaita Doctrine of Māyā is untenable; and holds that the Vedāntic literature, as a whole, supports the reality of all the three entities—Matter, Souls and God. 'The statement found in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (II. 14, 31)', and often quoted in support of the Advaita Doctrine—'to the effect that "Dualists see things wrongly"—is shown to negative only that kind of dualism which postulates a natural difference in essence between one individual soul and another; but not the real dualism which declares the natural distinction between the ultimate entities, known as God, Soul and Matter.' We shall now proceed to speak of these three entities:—

(I) God or *Brahman* is defined in this system as a Being, 'whose flame-like spiritual essence is itself infinite, wholly self-manifest and self-happy, and is the entire opposite of every kind of evil, and the unique seat of every kind of good; who is adorned with hosts of amiable attributes, such as, omniscient, miraculous, all-supporting, omnipotent, inexhaustible, and over-powering all; who is the gracious granter of all kinds of boons, and is possessed of an all-transcendent form; who is the evolver, the preserver and the destroyer of everything created; and who is the fit resort of all aspirants.'

The form of God is five-fold:—

- (1) *Para*—or the Transcendental Form (the Supreme Being) in the Vaikunṭha-lōka or the Heavenly Abode of God;
- (2) *Vyūha*—or the Operative Forms (viz. Vāsudēva, Sankarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha) lying on the serpent *Śeṣha* in the Milk Sea;
- (3) *Vibhava*—or the Incarnate Form (the Avatāras, such as Varāha, Narasimha, Rāma, and Krishna);
- (4) *Antaryāmin*—or the Pervasive Form (dwelling in the heart of every living being) realized by the Yogins through meditation;
- (5) *Archāvatāra*—or the Image-Form (in temples and houses of worshippers) which God assumes in accordance with the wishes of his devotees.

As regards the Image-Form, Pillai-lōkāchārya, the great Viśiṣṭādvaitic teacher of the thirteenth century, says:—

'The Archā Form consists in the images of Bhagavān (God), which accommodate themselves to the various tastes of His creatures for their worship, having no fixed *form*, but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to have of Him; having no fixed *name* but that which the worshipper may choose and desire to call Him by; all-knowing but seeming as if not-knowing; all-powerful but seeming as if powerless; all-sufficient but seeming as if needy—thus seeming to exchange places, the

worshipped with the worshipper, and choosing to be ocularly manifest to him in temples and homes, in short at all places and at all times desired.' (Vide *Artha-Pañchaka*, translated by A. G.)

In this place I may say a few words regarding *Image-worship*, which is common to all the Brahmanaic systems. There is an interesting point in connexion with the number of categories recognized by the several philosophical schools in the world. If M = Matter,

S = Soul,

G = God ;

then, the number of permutations of these *three* taken

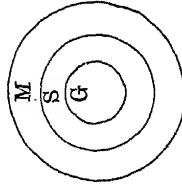
one at a time is 3

two „ 6

three „ 6

making a total of 15. These *fifteen* varieties, exhaust almost all the philosophical schools in the world; and a complete analysis of these has been furnished by the late Śrī-Yōgi-Pārtha-sārathi Aiyangar Svāmi of Madras, in his English Translation of the *Tattva-traya*. This great scholar has also written a pamphlet on the *Rationale of Image-Worship*, which is worth perusal. (Vide also pp. 43-45, A. Gōvindāchārya's *Vade Mecum of Vedanta*.)

As regards Image-worship, the Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation is, I believe, quite convincing. Adopting the above symbols, we may represent every living being by three concentric circles thus:—



Since every object in the Universe is pervaded by the All-pervading God (Vishṇu), we see that in paying homage to any living being, we are not honouring merely the outer form or matter (M), nor even the inner (individual) soul (S) alone, but convey our respects, through the process of meditation, up to the innermost Supreme Soul or God (G). Thus, every living being that is honoured, symbolizes *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (God-qualified by the attributes—*Chit* and *Achit*).

Similarly, whenever we worship an image (of a Deity), that worship is carried, through meditation, up to the Supreme Being, who not only pervades the image (through His all-pervading power), but makes it His special abode (at our request) so as to be within our easy reach.

(II) *Chit* (the individual soul) is defined as a being, distinct from matter (i.e. the body and the senses), and as intelligent, immutable,

incomprehensible, indivisible, unmanifest, self-luminous, spiritually atomic, eternal and blissful. The souls are divided into *five* classes:—

- (1) The *Ever-Free* (Nitya), in the holy presence of the Supreme Being, who are ever untainted by worldly bondage. They are ever happy, being engaged in the eternal service of God.
- (2) The *Liberated* (Mukta)—who have been freed from worldly bondage by the grace of God: These are also living in the presence of God, and are supremely happy.
- (3) The *Fettered* (Baddha)—still subject to bondage, i.e. imprisoned in the material body. They mistake the body for the soul and imagine that the sole aim of life is worldly pleasure or gratification of the senses. They become, therefore, slaves to passion, and tighten the worldly bondage closer and closer around themselves.
- (4) The *Isolate or Self-satisfied* (Kāvala)—who after experiencing the miseries of this world, realize the distinction between matter and soul; and succeeding in their attempt to free themselves from bondage, are content with self-enjoyment and do not aspire to know God. They live in a region called *Kaivalya* which is beyond the material world, and is yet outside the Abode of God. Those who attain this kind of *Mōksha* have no chance of reaching the Divine Presence, as they are self-satisfied.
- (5) The *Progressive or Salvation-seeking* (Mumukshu)—who are yet living in this world, always leading a pious life; and are engaged in the pursuit of Salvation.

(III) *Achit* (or the non-sentient entity) is defined as that which is non-intelligent, subject to mutation, and enjoyable by souls. It is of three kinds:—

- (1) *Pure-substance* (Suddha-sattva)—which belongs to the Abode of God (नित्यविभूति or the Eternal World).
- (2) *Mixed-substance* (Miśra-sattva)—which is the seat of *purity* (sattva), *turbidity* (rajas), and *darkness* (tamas); and belongs to this world (लोकविभूति or the Pastime-World).<sup>1</sup>
- (3) *Time*—which is devoid of qualities.

N.B.—*Achit* cannot, therefore, be properly translated as *Matter*, if we exclude Time from *Matter*. *Space* is not treated as a separate division of *Achit*, as it comes under *Akasa* (Ether), etc. For details, see Sri-Yogi Parthasarathi Aiyangar's Translation of *Tattva-traya* (Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1900).

<sup>1</sup> This world, which is full of joys and sorrows, serves as a play-ground to God and is therefore, called the *Pastime-World*.

*The Means of Attaining Salvation*

The means of attaining *mōksha* or salvation are also of five kinds:—

- (1) *Karma-Yōga*—or the performance of duties enjoined in the *Sāstras*. This is the chief means of attaining *Aiśvarya* (worldly prosperity); and is accessory to the *Jñāna-Yōga* which leads to salvation.
- (2) *Jñāna-Yōga*—or the process by which a Yōgin realizes the Antaryāmi form of God by constant meditation. This *Jñāna-Yōga* is the fundamental means of *Kaivalya-mōksha*, and is accessory to *Bhakti-Yōga*.
- (3) *Bhakti-Yōga*—or the process by which the soul that has realized the form of God by constant meditation is enabled to make such realization matured into *Love of God*. This is the *direct* means of attaining the Abode of God, called *Vaikunṭha* or *Parama-pada*.
- (4) *Prapatti*—or ‘Self-surrender to God’. This is the simplest and at the same time the surest means of reaching the desired end. It is accessible to all, the weak as well as the strong, without distinction of caste, creed, or sex. It consists in resigning one’s self entirely to the Will of God, and performing one’s legitimate duties without attachment to the results thereof.
- (5) *Āchāryābhimāna*—or Trust in the Preceptor, who serves as the Mediator between the aspirant soul and God. An individual, having no sufficient strength of mind for Self-surrender (*Prapatti*), has to place entire faith in a competent and compassionate Preceptor, who will adopt the necessary means of saving him (from worldly bondage), just as a loving mother swallows the necessary medicine to cure her suffering baby.

Thus the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system provides, for all mankind, the surest and at the same time the simplest means of salvation. The Dravidian Saints (the *Ālvārs*) laid much stress on *Bhakti* (Love of God) in their Tamil Sacred Poems—the (Four Thousand) *Divya Prabandha*; and the later Preceptors (the *Āchāryas*)—of whom Śrī-Rāmānujāchārya stands the most prominent—freely taught the safest means of *Prapatti* (Self-surrender to God), making it open to all creeds and castes, irrespective of sex. The followers of Śrī-Rāmānujāchārya—among whom shine the great Pillai-Lōkāchārya, Vēdānta Dēśika, and Vara-vara-muni<sup>1</sup>—revealed also the still easier and more convenient means of *Āchāryābhimāna* (Trust in the Mediator).

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here that the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas—the representatives of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system—are divided into two communities:—(1) The *Ten-kalais* (the southern school)—the followers of Pillai-Lōkāchārya and Varavara-muni; and (2) the *Vaḍa-kalais* (the northern

We may now direct our attention to a brief comparison of the three systems, with reference to the teachings of the great Reformers of the respective sects. Professor Hopkins, in speaking of Śankara and Rāmānuja, says :—

‘Śankara’s *Brahma* is the one and only being, pure being, or pure thought. Thought is not an attribute of *Brahma*, it is *Brahma*. Opposed to this pure being (thought) stands *māyā*, illusion, the material cause of the seen world. It is neither being, nor not being; it is the cause of the appearance of things, in that it is associated with *Brahma*, and in so far only is *Brahma* rightly the Lord. The infinite part of each individual is *Brahma*; the finite part is *māyā*. Thus Bādarāyaṇa (author of the Vēdānta Śūtras) says, that the individual is only illusion. Rāmānuja, on the other hand, teaches a *Brahma* that is not only universal, but is the universal personal Lord, a supreme, conscious and willing God. Far from being devoid of attributes, like Śankara’s *Brahma*, the *Brahma* of Rāmānuja has all attributes, chief of which is thought or intelligence. The Lord contains in himself the elements of that plurality which Śankara regards as illusion. As contrasted with the dualistic Śāṅkhya philosophy, both of these systems inculcate monism. But according to Śankara all difference is illusion; while according to Rāmānuja *Brahma* is not homogeneous, but in the diversity of the world about us He is truly manifested. Śankara’s *māyā* is Rāmānuja’s body of (Brahma) the Lord. Śankara’s personal God exists only by collusion with illusion, and hence is illusory. The *Brahma* of Rāmānuja is a personal God, the omnipotent, omniscient, Lord of a real world. Moreover, from an eschatological point of view, Śankara explains salvation, the release from rebirth, *samsāra*, as complete union with this unqualified *Brahma*, consequently as loss of individuality as well as loss of happiness. But Rāmānuja defines salvation as the departure from earth for ever of the individual spirit, which enters a heaven, where it will enjoy perennial bliss. Rāmānuja’s doctrine inspires the sectarian pantheism of the present time. In this there is a metaphysical basis of conduct, a personal God to be loved or feared, the hope of bliss hereafter. In its essential features, it is a very old belief, far older than the philosophy which formulates it. Thus after the hard saying “fools desire heaven”, this desire re-asserted itself; and under Rāmānuja’s genial interpretation of the Vēdānta Śūtras, the pious man was enabled to build up his cheerful hope again, withal on the basis of a logic as difficult to controvert as was that of Śankara himself.’ (*The Religions of India*—pp. 496-8.)

school)—the followers of Vēdānta Dēśika. The doctrinal differences between the two schools have been fully discussed by Śrīman A. Gōvindāchārya of Mysore in the J. R. A. S. (October, 1910).

The language used here seems to me rather strong. Western scholars<sup>1</sup> appear to have not fully realized the true spirit of Śankara's doctrine. Śankara's practical (*Saguṇa*) Brahman is not very different from Rāmānuja's Brahman; and as we have already seen, Śankara himself was a staunch devotee of *Saguṇa-Brahman*. He clearly admits, in the following passage from his Commentary on the *Sanatsujātīya* (*Mahā-Bhārata, Udyōga Parva*) I. 18, that salvation can be secured by worshipping *Saguṇa-Brahman*:—

अथवा—‘एवं हि विद्वान् परियाति तत्र’—इति पाठे सगुणं ब्रह्म विद्वान् तत्र ब्रह्मलोकादावुपासनफलं परियाति प्राप्नोति । तथा अर्थजातं च अस्य वदन्ति वेदाः । कीदृशं वदन्ति? स नेह आयाति, स विद्वान् इह अस्मिन् लोके कर्मवन्नायाति न जायते; किन्तु ब्रह्मोपासनया अमार्गान् विरुद्धमार्गान् निहन्ति । एवं तत्र गत्वा संसारहेतूनमार्गान् निहस्य परात्मा सन् कालेन परं ब्रह्म प्रयातीत्यर्थः ॥

If Śankara had doubted the virtue of meditating on *Saguṇa-Brahman*, an earnest philosopher of his eminence would never have wasted his precious moments in acts of piety towards such a Being, and in composing so many *stōtras* in praise thereof. Śankara's practical life would, therefore, justify the conclusion that his *Para-Mukti* (Absolute Liberation) was put forth by him only as a philosophical ideal, and that he himself regarded it as impossible of attainment by frail mortals.

As regards the doctrine of *Māyā*, it may be observed that the word *Māyā* is taken to mean *Prakṛiti* (Matter) by the School of Rāmānuja, relying on such texts as—

(1) मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ॥ (*Śvēt. Up.*, iv. 10.)

(2) अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया सन्निरुद्धः

(*Śvēt. Up.*, iv. 9.)

Śankarāchārya, himself, often makes *Prakṛiti* synonymous with *Māyā*. (*Vide* his Commentary on *Gītā*, vii. 4, xv. 17, etc.) Both Śankara and Rāmānuja hold that *Brahman* is the material cause (उपादानकारण) of the Universe, through the attribute (or property) *Māyā* or *Prakṛiti*.

The most important point to be noted in this connexion is that even Śankarāchārya regards *Matter* and *Soul* as properties of the Lord and as eternal with Him. (*Vide* Commentary on *Gītā*, xiii. 19.)

<sup>1</sup> Even here, in India, there are serious misconceptions regarding the doctrine of Śankara. Some enthusiastic amateurs have even attempted to reconcile Śankara's orthodox system and the heterodox Buddhism; and this is perhaps due to the few points of resemblance between Śankara's school and the Yōgāchāra School of Buddhism.



नित्यत्वादीश्वरस्य तत्प्रकृत्योरपि युक्तं नित्यत्वेन भवितुम् । प्रकृतिद्वयवत्त्वमेव हीश्वरस्य ईश्वरत्वम् । याम्यां प्रकृतिभ्यामीश्वरो जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलयहेतुः, ते अनादी सत्यौ संसारस्य कारणम् ॥

In the verse in question he takes the word अनादी to mean eternal (नित्य)<sup>1</sup> as applied to *Matter* and *Soul*, and further on in the commentary, he himself refutes the theory of those who would understand the word अनादी (in the verse) as meaning न आदी, i. e. not existing at the beginning.

Further the term मिथ्या as applied to the Universe (cf. जगन्मिथ्या, etc.) is often used by Śankarāchārya in the sense of अनित्य (non-eternal).<sup>2</sup>

If these are the real views of Śankarāchārya, as regards the points in question, we may venture to say that there would be practically little or no difference between his school and that of Rāmānuja; but these are points which require a careful examination by impartial scholars.

Next, comparing the school of Rāmānujāchārya with that of Madhvāchārya, we find the following few points of difference:—

- (1) Rāmānuja holds that the individual souls are all similar in their natural essence (स्वरूप), whereas Madhva regards them as essentially different.
- (2) According to Rāmānuja, the material cause of the Universe is God Himself, which the school of Madhva denies.
- (3) Rāmānuja regards the Universe as the *body* of God—which relationship is not recognized by Madhvāchārya.
- (4) According to Rāmānuja, no soul is, by nature, disqualified for salvation, whereas Madhva holds that there is a class of souls totally ineligible by nature for salvation and therefore doomed to eternal perdition.
- (5) In the view of Rāmānuja, there is no difference of any kind between one liberated soul and another in the enjoyment of Eternal Bliss in Heaven; but in Madhva's view, differences in such enjoyment do exist, in degree and quality, proportionate to the differences in the natural essence of the souls.

I shall now refer to some of the common points of the three systems:—

<sup>1</sup> This is certainly conflicting with his own statements elsewhere. (*Vide* e.g. *Vivēka-chāṣṭāmaṇi*, st. 200-1.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* विवेकचूडामणि. (St. 20-22, etc.)

- (1) All the three systems are based upon the authority of the Śrutis (the Upanishads), the Smritis, the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas.
- (2) All believe that the beginningless *karma* is the cause of worldly bondage, and that the soul will undergo birth after birth until the whole of *karma* is exhausted.
- (3) All recognize that the study of the Vēdānta is essential for the attainment of *Jñāna* (wisdom), which serves as a passport to the Heavenly Abode.
- (4) *Bhakti* or Love of God is the most perfect means of salvation according to all the three systems.
- (5) Image-Worship is an essential feature of all the Brahmanic systems; and Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), in various forms, is generally worshipped as the Supreme Being by all the three sects.
- (6) The Spiritual Preceptor is the Mediator between the individual soul and God; and is revered as equal to God in several respects.
- (7) Divine Grace alone can ultimately secure salvation, as human efforts by themselves will be fruitless.
- (8) All recognize that salvation consists in the attainment of Brahman, which is Eternal Bliss.

Before concluding, it is my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to those scholars, Indian and European, whose ideas and expressions I have borrowed in preparing this lecture.

Let us now conclude with a verse<sup>1</sup> in praise of the Supreme Light shining throughout the Vēdānta:—

“यन्मङ्गलाय महते जगतामुशन्ति त्रैविष्टपान्यपि पदानि यदाश्रयाणि ।  
वन्दामहे सरसिजेक्षणमद्वितीयं वेदान्तवेद्यमनिदं प्रथमं महस्तत् ॥”

#### A NOTE

##### *Evolution of Deities*

IN a most interesting article in his first volume of *Asiatic Studies*, the late Sir Alfred Lyall traces the evolution of a number of deities worshipped in Berar. He instances a man, who, having wandered from his native place and settled in a sacred spot, becomes renowned for his austerity and there dies. The people considered it a good fortune to have his tomb in the neighbourhood. ‘In the course of a few years, as recollections of the man’s personality become misty, his origin grows mysterious, his career takes a legendary hue, his birth and death are both supernatural; in the next generation the name of the elder gods get introduced into the story and so the marvellous tradition works itself into a myth until nothing but a personal incarnation can account for such a series of prodigies. The man was an Avatar of Vishnu or Siva; his supreme apotheosis

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Vaikunṭha-Stava* of Kūrēśa, stanza 4.

is now complete and the Brahmins feel warranted in providing for him a niche in the orthodox Pantheon.' Several instances are on record of the deification of British officers whose personality has exercised a unique influence on those over whom they ruled. Regular sects of worshippers resulted from this deification.

There is a most interesting story of the origin of a local god in Mysore. In the small town of Gubbi, fifty miles from Bangalore, the most popular god is that of Gubbiappa. For many years he has been the recipient of fervent worship and plentiful honours. His temple is of considerable size and near to it is situated a fine mantappa erected to his honour. Yet the original of this deification was a Schoolmaster, who lived in the town about two centuries ago. During his lifetime he gained considerable fame for his learning, his piety, and wisdom. When he died the whole town mourned his loss and showed the greatest honours of burial to him. Over him a handsome tomb was erected. Among those who sat at the feet of this teacher was one, Burré Gauda, who, profiting by his education so received, entered Government service and soon rose to a high position in the State. Filled with gratitude to his benefactor he felt no honour was too great for one possessing such superior gifts. The possessor of such qualities could not be other than divine. The elders of the town, whom he assembled together, agreed that he must have been an avatar of Siva. Having acknowledged this, the next step was a natural and an easy one. He must be worshipped. Burré Gauda built a temple and provided all the requisites for the celebration of puja. The present temple was built and a staff of priests and temple women appointed, an endowment made. The image was installed with due ceremony and in time deified. Gubbiappa is still the most popular god of the neighbourhood.

A. R. SLATER.

#### A QUERY

LT.-COL. WADDELL, in his book *Lhasa and its Mysteries* and Dr. Sven Hedin in his recent *Trans Himalaya* give detailed accounts of the visits they paid to the caves of the Tibetan monks who voluntarily entomb themselves for life. Waddell says: 'Altogether their mode of doing up their hair gave them the look of Indian devotees rather than Tibetans and this was the impression they wished to give.' He was told that the Order was founded by ancient Indian ascetics. In the chapel near by, were paintings of Indian looking ascetics, one being that of an Indian wizard named Saraha, who founded the hermitage 600 years ago. Seeing the close connexion historically of this form of asceticism with Indian ascetics, can any reader say whether any such voluntary immurement is or has ever been practised in any part of India?

A. R. S.

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## THE HOYSALAS IN AND BEYOND MYSORE

*A paper read before the Mythic Society*

BY MR. H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT  
OF ARCHÆOLOGY, MADRAS

IN the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Mr. Rice has given us an exhaustive account of the Hoysalas so far as it can be made out from the lithic records of the Mysore State. These latter are numerous and occupy the major portion of the total output of epigraphs from the Mysore country coming only next in volume to the Vijayanagara inscriptions. This is what must naturally be expected; for, subsequent to the powerful dynasty of the Western Gangas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara kings were the only indigenous rulers that made their influence felt among the successive powerful dynasties of Southern India. One characteristic feature of the Hoysala records is their fine execution in charmingly proportionate Kannada characters drawn out here and there where convenient into fantastic floral devices, so as to decorate the margins of the granite slab, pillar or other material on which they are engraved. The style of the language too, written more often in poetry than in prose, is so highly polished and learned that one cannot help being carried away by the conviction that Kanarese literature must have made considerable progress under the patronage of the Hoysala kings, as it

certainly appears to have done under the Western Chalukyas and probably also under the Kalachuryas, the Yadavas and other Karnāṭa families of about the same period.<sup>1</sup> Numerous contemporaneous records outside the Mysore State written in the same language and style are found to be excellent specimens of Kanarese poetry and do not suffer in anyway by comparison with the Hoysala records printed in Mr. Rice's volumes. It is out of place here to consider the poetical value of these pieces or even to compare them with standard literary works, with a view to gauge the advance the Kannāḍa language must have made during the period under reference. This subject worked out by itself would be of immense interest to those energetic workers of the present day who are bent on bringing about a revival of the vernacular studies. For the present, we may rest satisfied with the historical facts that can be derived from the Hoysala inscriptions printed by Mr. Rice, their value in determining the chronology of the Hoysala succession and the side lights which they are likely to throw in clearing up the position of the Hoysalas among the contemporaneous kings of Southern India, between the 11th and 14th centuries of the Christian era and *vice versa*. In doing this, it is not my desire to tread once again over the ground so thoroughly explored by Mr. Rice but only to refer to such points as will confirm and justify the spread of the Hoysala power beyond the limits of Mysore, even into the distant corners of the Indian Peninsula.

Had it not been for the Chōlas and their occupation of the Mysore country in the 10th century A.D., it is doubtful if ever the potentialities of the dormant Hoysala prowess could have asserted themselves. I may, therefore, be pardoned, if I diverge here from my subject for a while to survey in brief the circumstances that led to the advent of the Chōlas. According to the Tiruvalāṅgāḍu plates of Rajendra-Chōla I, Rājākēsari-varman Āditya I, defeated the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita and by thus doing appears to have become the first Chōla emperor who put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallava in the territory of Tonḍa-naḍu.<sup>2</sup> His successor Parāntaka I, who was even more powerful than his father, is known to have completely revived the fortunes of the Chōlas, who for

<sup>1</sup> In his *Karnāṭaka-Kavicharite*, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has collected all available evidence on this point.

<sup>2</sup> The political relationship that may have existed between the defunct Chōla chiefs, prior to the time of Aditya I, and the then powerful Gaṅga-Pallava rulers and their Gaṅga subordinates, is still obscure. It may be suggested that the Gaṅga-Pallavas, as the suzerains of the Pallava country either by hereditary possession or by right of conquest, appear to have pushed far into the South, even into the borders of the Pāṇḍya country and to have invited the counter-invasion of Tonḍa-maṇḍalam (comprising almost the whole of the present North Arcot and Chingleput and portions of the South Arcot and Nellore districts), by the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. With the defeat of Varaguna by the last Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita the Chōla kings of the Vijayālaya line must have gained in power, so much so that they even proceeded now on an offensive campaign into the Pallava country.

a time had probably disappeared from the scene in the palmier days of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. Parāntaka marched northward and subjugated the rebellious Bāṇas whose country he is stated to have conferred on his feudatory the Gaṅga king Prithvipati II along with the title Śembīyaṁ Mahāvali Bāṇarāya. This patronage bestowed on Prithvipati II is significant inasmuch as we know that Prithvipati was a member of a collateral branch of the powerful Western Gaṅga dynasty which was then ruling in Mysore. Parāntaka I, a powerful conqueror though he was, seems to have left the Gaṅga-nāḍu, i.e. Mysore with which we are now concerned, unmolested.<sup>1</sup> Parāntaka's successors, who were evidently weak, did not maintain the position secured by that emperor even in the Tonḍa-maṇḍala. Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka I, who was sent out perhaps as a viceroy in the last days of that Emperor, was killed in battle by the Western Gaṅga king Butuga II, on behalf of his overlord and father-in-law, the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. This latter king, taking advantage of the prevailing weakness of the Chōlas, seems to have, about this period, annexed to his dominions the whole of the Tuṇḍāka-rāshṭra or Tonḍa-maṇḍalam with its capital Kāñchī and to have even pierced into the Chōla country to capture Tanjore. The Chōla revenge was slow to come. The six kings between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I, whose sphere of rule and dates of accession are yet indefinite, were evidently engaged with the foes nearer home, viz. the Pāṇḍyas and did not devote much attention to the spreading influence of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the Tonḍai country. It was reserved for the powerful Rājarāja I to overrun Raṭṭaḍpāḍi (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa country), together with Gaṅgavaḍi, Nolambavaḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, etc., which included not only the whole of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire with acquisitions in the Mysore State but also extended beyond, even into the province of the Eastern Chālukyas. The cause for this apparently unprovoked invasion of the Gaṅga and the Raṭṭa territory was, evidently, the annexation of the Tonḍa-maṇḍalam by the Rāshtrakūṭas and the murder of Rājāditya by one of the Gaṅgas. Thus it was that the Chōlas first came to occupy the Gaṅga country and to rule over its destinies for nearly a century, during which time were wrought several changes which, if they are to be described, would more naturally find a place in the chapter on the Chōla history in Mysore.

About this time, the Hoysaḷas who were gradually growing powerful among the potentates ruling the mountainous districts (Mal-nāḍ) along the Western Ghauts, seem to have risen to prominence as the feudatories of the Western Chālukya rulers of Kalyāṇi. Rājarāja in his extensive

<sup>1</sup> Considerations of alliances that then existed between himself and Prithvipati of the Gaṅga family, or the probability of inviting a fresh calamity on his country by making enemies of the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa kings who, as the political successors of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, had secured a strong hold on Mysore and its rulers, may have deterred him from doing so.



conquests, may not have forgotten to subdue Mal-nāḍ and Banavāsi which were included in the Western Chālukya dominion, on the North-west of Mysore. But it is doubtful if he exercised any sway over them, as he did in the Gaṅgavāḍi and a portion at least of the Nolambavāḍi districts. Mal-nāḍ and Banavāsi were the outlying districts between the territory of the Western Chālukyas and that of the Chōlas in the Mysore country. As the feudatories of the former and perhaps also as distant claimants to the Western-Gaṅga blood, the Hoysalas could not but have looked with envy upon the occupation of Gaṅgavāḍi and Nolambavāḍi by the Chōla intruders. And as a result, therefore, the Hoysalas must have been waiting for a favourable opportunity to drive these foreigners out of Mysore. This attitude of the Hoysala chiefs of Mal-nāḍ was, however, kept in check, perhaps, till about the end of Kulōttuṅga's reign after which apparently the power of the Chōlas in Mysore as elsewhere began to be on the decline. The Kaliyūr inscription of the time of Rājārāja I, which mentions a defeat inflicted on the Hoysalas by the Chōla minister Apramēya, refers perhaps to the commencement of a series of struggles which closed only with the complete evacuation of the Mysore country by the Chōlas and its occupation by the Hoysalas. Again the events recorded in the Honnūru (Ag. 76), Rājēndrapura (Mj. 43) and the Guṇḍatteranya (Hn. 162) inscriptions, indicate the fights on the border-land between the Hoysalas on the one side and the Chōla feudatories (viz. the Kongāḷvas and the Cheṅgāḷvas) on the other, apparently during the reigns of Rājārāja's successors, Rājēndra-Chōla I and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. Tamil inscriptions of the Chōla kings Rājādhirāja, Rājēndradēva, Virarājēndra and Kulōttuṅga refer frequently to battles fought at Kampili, Kollāpuram, Koppam, Kūḍalāṅgam and Naṅgili against their Western Chālukya foes. It is not improbable that, in some, if not all, of these, the Hoysalas took an active part on behalf of their overlords, the Western Chālukya kings.

It may now be interesting to discuss when the Hoysalas actually acquired the Gaṅgavāḍi country, or, in other words when, they came to rule over it as independent kings. So long as powerful sovereigns of the Chōla and the Chālukya dynasties were sharing between them the country on either side of the Pēraru, Perdore or Heddore (i.e. the big river, very likely the Tuṅgā), the Hoysalas could not possibly have contemplated the acquisition of and much less rule over, Gaṅgavāḍi. But we know from two records at Hirimagaḷūr (Cm. 7 and 15) that Trailōkyamalla Vinayāditya Poysala—evidently as subordinate of Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I (A.D. 1044 and 1068), was ruling in Śaka 984 and Śaka 986 and that in the former year (Kd. 161), he was governing, along with his son Ereyāṅga, the province of Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 including Male-vishaya. From another, at Hale-Belgoḷa (Cn. 148), we learn that Tribhuvanamalla Ereyāṅga was,

perhaps, still as a *yuvarāja*, ruling the Gaṅga-maṇḍala in Śaka 1015, Śrīmukha (=A.D. 1093-4). Both of them were apparently subordinates of the Western Chālukya kings, Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I and his son Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI who, being a *yuvarāja*, is known to have governed the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, as the Viceroy of his father in A.D. 1055-6. It thus appears as if Gaṅgavāḍi which was in possession of the Chōlas from the time of Rājarāja I was regained by the Chālukyas already in the time of Sōmēśvara I. The statements made in the Tamil records of the Chōla kings do not seem to militate against this inference. For, it is stated that Vikkilan (i.e. the *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya VI), had actually to be driven from Gaṅgapāḍi over the Tūṅgabhadra, by Virarajēndra I, and that subsequently to this event the daughter of the Chōla sovereign was given in marriage to Vikramāditya, perhaps on political considerations. Ereyāṅga is stated in one of his records of A.D. 1100-01 to have caused the 'Chōlika's king to wear leaves' and 'to have wedded the goddess of valour by means of *dhārā* (metaphorically by capturing the city of Dhar).' In performing these victorious feats Ereyāṅga must certainly have acted as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. The same record states that one of Ereyāṅga's wives was Mahādēvi daughter of a certain Irukkavēl who belonged to a family of chiefs that were military officers under Chōla emperors. It may be remarked here incidentally that a powerful dynasty of chiefs who ruled at Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State were the subordinates of the Chōlas and frequently intermarried with them. They often bore the title Irukkavēl. Tamil Literature refers to a member of one of the Vēl families that killed a tiger at the bidding of a sage just like the mythical Saḷa of the Hoysaḷa genealogy, and had settled at Tuvarāpati (perhaps Dvārāpati a surname probably of Dvārasamudra), which, as it is believed, had sprung out of the sage's sacrificial altar. It is interesting also to learn that the Pāṇḍya the father of this Irukkavēl, of whom we are just speaking, rendered valuable service to the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya by conferring the kingdom on him after turning back Bhuvanaikamalla, i.e. his treacherous brother Sōmēśvara II. Consequently, this Pāṇḍya must have been an officer serving the Chōla king Virarajēndra I, who as revealed by his Tamil records, takes the credit for having 'tied (round the neck) of Śaḷukki-Vikramāditya who had taken refuge at his feet, a necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*) which illumined the eight directions and was pleased to conquer and to bestow (on him) the seven and a half *lakshas* of Raṭṭapāḍi'. With this alliance between the Chōla king Virarajēndra I and the Western Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, there appears to have been a cessation of hostilities between the two powerful families. But troubles began once again with the accession of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I to the Chōla throne in supersession, perhaps, of the more rightful claimants of the direct

line. Vikramāditya was at this time the master of Gaṅgavāḍi and the Chōla forces had to meet him at Naṅgili, east of Kōlār and not on the banks of the Tuṅgā river, as it used to be in previous conflicts. This event happened about the 11th year of Kulōttuṅga I, which was equal to A.D. 1080-1. The *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* informs us that Vikramāditya VI had once more to extinguish the Chōla before entering his capital of Kalyāṇa and that after a long period of peace he again put the Chōla to flight and took Kāñchi. Vikramāditya must have done this shortly after the reverse related in the Tamil inscriptions; for, we find records of A.D. 1085 and after, in the Gaṅga country which mention the rule of his Hoysala subordinates Vinayāditya, Ereyāṅga, Ballāla I and Vishṇuvardhana over the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 country. We have also epigraphs of the first three chiefs extending from A.D. 1047 to 1106 which invariably call them by the general name Tribhuvanamalla-Hoysala and do not, consequently, enable us to distinguish the rule of one king from that of his successor. In an inscription from Sindigere (Cm. 160) which actually belongs to the time of Ballāla I reference is made to an earlier event of Śaka 969 = (A.D. 1047) which happened during the reign of Vinayāditya-Poysala. Though this early date for Vinayāditya correctly falls into the reign of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I of whom he was a subordinate, still the actual records of his reign noted in Mr. Rice's volumes begin only from A.D. 1060. Ereyāṅga ruled probably from A.D. 1095, the earliest date known for him as *yuvarāja*, to 1100 and the reign of Ballāla I extended from A.D. 1100 (the earliest safe date which mentions Ballāla with perhaps also his brother Biṭṭi as *yuvarāja*) to 1106. Mr. Rice seems to hold the opinion that Ereyāṅga did not rule at all, but died as a *yuvarāja* before his father Vinayāditya and that all the inscriptions, therefore, which speak of Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala, have to be referred to the long reign of one and the same king Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala. This is not very likely; for, Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala appears to have been a title held by the early Hoysala kings without particular reference to any one of them. It must be admitted, however, that the occurrence of the name Vinayāditya in Cn. 207 and Ak. 179 which, as their dates indicate, would naturally have to go under Ereyāṅga, the mention of Ballāla I in Tp. 101 which has to go under Vinayāditya and again of Vishṇuvardhana in Ak. 34 which must belong either to Ereyāṅga or Ballāla I, do undoubtedly cause some confusion in the chronology of these kings. It perhaps only suggests the usual overlapping rule of one king with that of his successor, not uncommon in ancient ruling families of India, the crown princes counting their reign from either the dates of their *yuvarājaya* (heir-apparentcy), or of their actual coronation. From the time of Biṭṭidēva, however, the chronological difficulties do not arise from similarity in names and except for the one or two dates which

take him back to the beginning of Ballāla's reign, we may safely presume that Vishṇuvardhana's rule extended from A.D. 1106 to at least A.D. 1139 (Hn. 114).

No stirring events worth mentioning appear to have characterized the reigns of the three predecessors of Vishṇuvardhana except that Vinayāditya was already recognized as the chief of the Malepas (i. e. the Hill chiefs) in A.D. 1062 and held the *biruda* Rakkasa-Poysala; that Ereyāṅga was a powerful general under Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, and apparently took part in his extensive conquests in the north and that Ballāla I defended Dvārasamudra against an attack of the Śāntāra chief Jagaddēva of Paṭṭipombuchchapura, who was also a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. In this latter incident and also in inflicting a defeat on the Pāṇḍya (probably one of the Western-Chālukya subordinates ruling Nolambavāḍi) Ballāla seems to have worked in conjunction with his brother Vishṇuvardhana. The reason for this attack of Jagaddēva on the Hoysala capital is not vouchsafed to us in any of the inscriptions which mention the event. The same Jagaddēva appears also to have 'stood encompassing the city of Anumakeṇḍa' against the Kākatiya king Prōla, on behalf of his sovereign, the Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. It looks as if in the latter part of his reign Vikramāditya did not exert the same influence on his subordinates as in his earlier years, and that, consequently, some of them who were more adventurous than the others, appear to have made an attempt to throw off the imperial yoke. Of such Vishṇuvardhana with his brother Ballāla and the Kākatiya king Prōla were, perhaps, prominent. In a record from Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa Vishṇuvardhana is stated 'to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva and others sent by the emperor (*chakrin*).' Dr. Fleet also concludes that, about the end of Vikramāditya's reign, there was an evident conspiracy of powerful chiefs to upset the Chālukya empire.

Vishṇuvardhana was by far the greatest of the Hoysala kings. From one or two inscriptions of his, we may have to infer that he was ruling jointly with his brother Ballāla I from the beginning of the latter's reign (i. e. A.D. 1101); but regular records are found to begin only from A.D. 1116-7 the year in which he was made 'to stand erect' by his able general Gaṅgarāja. It was about this time also that the subordinate position which the Hoysalas had hitherto occupied was disowned and the petty estate raised to the dignity of a kingdom. Vishṇuvardhana's capture of Talakāḍu with the help of his general Gaṅgarāja, his defeat of the Chōlas and the Chālukyan forces and the consequent spread of power over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi and the Nolambavāḍi districts together with Koṅgu where he set up a pillar of victory and his sway over the Kadamba country, have been fully described in his numerous records

of the Mysore State. It may be noted in connexion with this wide range of his conquests, that the capture of Chakragoṭṭa and the defeat of its king Sōmēśvara mentioned in his records carry the scene of Vishṇuvardhana's activities into the present Bastar State in the Central Provinces. For, Rai Bahadur Hira Lāl has satisfactorily identified Chakragoṭṭa with the Chakrakōṭṭya country mentioned in the Bastar records of a line of kings who claimed connexion with the Sinda family.<sup>1</sup> Tribhuvanamalla Kumāra-Ballāla, the eldest son of Vishṇuvardhana and a sister of this Kumāra-Ballāla named Hariabbarasi are revealed for the first time by a record (Mg. 22) from the Mūdgere taluka. Perhaps this Ballāla was the son of the chief queen Śāntalādēvi and may have died prior to the birth of Vijayanārasimha the son by Lakshmīdēvi. The gold coins with the legends *Talakāḍu-gonḍa* and *Noḷambavāḍi-gonḍa* so common with shroffs in the bazaars of Mysore still speak to the prowess of the great conqueror Vishṇuvardhana. He is also stated to have extended his conquests in the South as far as the island of Rāmēśvaram. But this could be nothing more than a mere boast inasmuch as no records of his time have been discovered beyond the provinces already mentioned. His change of faith to Vaishṇavism under the influence of the great Rāmānuja is known only from Vaishṇava tradition and literature. Inscriptions, however, show that his patronage was equally distributed to Jaina, Śaiva and Vaishṇava institutions irrespective of their moral influences or numerical strength. From the detailed and glowing account given of his consecration of the Chennakēśava temple in the year A.D. 1117 under the name of Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa, we may perhaps infer that his personal leanings were towards Rāmānuja's creed. In spite of his conquests and power Vishṇuvardhana appears to have still recognized the supremacy of the Western-Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva as may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in his inscriptions and from the attribute Tribhuvanamalla which is invariably affixed to his name in almost all records. Two years after the conquest and occupation of Talakāḍu, for instance, he was still styled a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Bl. 116) and in A.D. 1137, he was a *Mahāmandalēśvara* ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi and the Banavāsi provinces under the Western-Chālukya emperor Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III. It looks, therefore, very likely that by some peaceful arrangement the Western-Chālukya king, wise as he was, ceded a pretty

<sup>1</sup> In this line were two kings of name-Sōmēśvara who ruled about Śaka 1030 and Śaka 1130, respectively. The conquest of Sōmēśvara by Vishṇuvardhana could not refer to the latter and there is reason to believe that the former died about Śaka 1033 (= A.D. 1112). But Mg. 22 which refers to this campaign is dated in Śaka 1052. If the reference here, therefore, is only to a past event, we may infer that the defeat of Sōmēśvara by Vishṇuvardhana must have happened prior to A.D. 1111-2, when the latter was yet a *yuvārāja* ruling with his brother Ballāla I or that the Sōmēśvara referred to in the Hantūru record must be a second king of that name ruling between Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II of the Bastar records,

large portion of his territory to his rising subordinate Vishṇuvardhana. According to Mr. Rice, Vishṇuvardhana is supposed to have died in A.D. 1141, at Baṅkāpura as incidentally hinted in a *viragal* at Havallī in the Chikmagalūr tāluka which also refers to a request preferred to prince Narasiṅgadēva, i.e. Vijayanārasimha, for the gift recorded therein; but, from an inscription of A.D. 1144 of the Sinda chief Permāḍi I, who was a feudatory of the Western-Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II, we learn that this chief 'seized the royal power of the Hoysaḷas; and that he penetrated to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, i.e. the Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana, besieged his city of Dvārasamudra, pursued him as far as the town of Bēlāpura which he took and followed him beyond that place as far as the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi' (Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 575). This shows that Vishṇuvardhana must have been living still in A.D. 1144.

Vijayanārasimha I, his successor, is stated to have been so called being born on the day of a signal victory which Vishṇuvardhana is said to have gained in A.D. 1133. The addition of the prefix *Vijaya* to the Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa (i.e. the Chennakēśava) temple at Bēlūr and to the Vijaya-Pārśvanātha temple at Bastipura near Halēbiḍ, also indicate their consecration in memory of the same or similar victories. Vijayanārasimha's earliest date available from inscriptions is Śaka 1061 (=A.D. 1139) and his latest date goes as far as Śaka 1095 Vijaya (=A.D. 1173) in which year his son Vira-Ballāla II was also crowned at Dvārasamudra. The titles assumed by Vijayanārasimha in his records, were only adopted from those of his father, and it does not appear as if Nārasimha did anything worth mentioning. The attack on the Hoysaḷa king by the Chālukya Perma-Jagadēkamalla II, in A.D. 1143 (referred to in a record from the Dāvāṅgere tāluka), must be the same as the one mentioned above to have been directed against Vishṇuvardhana under the leadership of the Sinda chief Permāḍi I, either for the purpose of conquest or of administrative discipline. Perhaps this attack humbled, for a time at least, the rebellious Hoysaḷa and Nārasimha became a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla II, in consequence of which he is once called Jagadēkamalla Nārasimha. One of Nārasimha's able Jaina generals was Hullarasa (as Gaṅgarāja was, of Vishṇuvardhana), who appears also to have served under Nārasimha's successor Vira-Ballāla II. Nārasimha probably ended his life in a conflict with the Yādava king Bhīllama to whom is attributed the foundation of the city of Dēvagiri in Hēmādrī's *Vratakhāṇḍa*.

Ballāla II was, as already stated, crowned to the Hoysaḷa kingdom in A.D. 1173 at Dvārasamudra. He established, like his grandfather Vishṇuvardhana, his reputation as a great conqueror and the establisher of the Hoysaḷa kingdom so much so that the dynasty and its kings in subsequent times came to be known by the name Ballāla. In his early

years Ballāla seems to have struggled hard to get independent of the then firmly established Kalachurya king Saṅkamadēva and the fast rising Yadava king Bhillama, so far, at least, as the northern portions of his dominions were concerned. Inscriptions indicate that he was not successful in this direction for some years at the beginning and had accordingly, to accept for a time Saṅkama's overlordship, as perhaps also that of Bhillama's. About A.D. 1192 Ballāla assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājadhirāja*, etc., for the first time, after having thoroughly defeated near Lökkigunḍi the powerful Sēuna king Bhillama. He successively defeated afterwards, in battle, the Western-Chālukyas, the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and other contemporaneous kings who stood in his way and assumed the distinguishing epithets 'the Emperor of the South' and 'the destroyer of Chōla forces' clearly indicating in a way his contact with the Chōla country for the first time in Hoysala history. A record from the Tumkur district (Tp. 58) refers to a certain Biṭṭidēva, son of Vishṇubhūpāla, who was ruling the *Dakṣiṇamahī-maṇḍala*, i. e. the Southern kingdom, in Śaka 1114 (=A.D. 1192-3), which evidently falls into the reign of Ballāla II. Reference was already made to Tribhuvanamalla Kumāra-Ballāla the eldest son of Vishṇuvardhana. Vishṇubhūpāla (perhaps the Biṭṭi of Tp. 58) was another son of the same king and an uncle of Ballāla II, entrusted with the Southern portions of the Hoysala empire—not necessarily meaning acquisitions in the Chōla country. One of Ballāla's queens was Chōlamahādēvi who, as her name indicates, was, perhaps, a Chōla princess. The Chōlas at this period were gradually declining and internal dissensions together with foreign conquests had already made their once great empire weak and unstable. Ballāla at such an opportunity as this might have possibly extended his conquests into the south though records referable to his time have not yet come to light in the Tamil districts. 'On the east he had shaken Kāñchī, on the west he had made the ocean roar, while the great Chēra country rose up and fled and the whole of the Pāṇḍya kings took refuge in forests entering even those with fear' (Ak. 23 and 104). We learn that Ballāla was still on his victorious tour in Śaka 1139 (=A.D. 1217) (Hn. 61) when, he had established his camp at Niḍugal-durga. He must have died soon after this, for we know from inscriptions of his son and successor Vira-Nārasimha II that the latter was crowned in or about A.D. 1220 though some of his Tamil records count his reign from 1217-8 which was evidently perhaps the date when Nārasimha was chosen heir-apparent by his father Ballāla II, in the last days of his reign.

From the time of Vira-Nārasimha II, the Hoysalas appear to have come into closer contact with the South (i. e. the Chōla country). That in the 2nd year of his reign Nārasimha was marching against the Rāga in the South (i. e. Śrīraṅgam) shows beyond all doubt that the way for

this intrusion into the Chōla kingdom must have already been prepared in the reign of his victorious father Ballāla II.<sup>1</sup>

The real history of the Hoysaḷas in the South may be taken to have actually begun with the reign of Vira-Nārasimha II, whose only record in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam is dated in the cyclic year Vijaya which corresponds to A.D. 1233-4 and records a gift of land by a certain Dēvaladēviyār for providing four rice offerings everyday in the temple of Śrīraṅganātha and for supplying sandal, civet, ghee, musk, camphor and other such articles as were required for the decoration of the god. The record mentions a *Mahāpradhāni* (great minister) of *Pratāpa-Chakravartin* Vira Nārasimha, named *Bhujabala-Bhima* Kēśava-Daṇḍanāyaka and his younger brother Raṅgaya-Daṇḍanāyaka. I have not been able to identify these chiefs from other allied inscriptions of Vira-Nārasimha. The *Kōilolugu* which pretends to give a history of the improvements made to the temple of Śrīraṅganātha on the island of Śrīraṅgam, from prehistoric times, speaks of a certain Vira-Narasingarāja the king of the Kanarese people, who built one of the *maṇḍapas* in that temple. This may possibly be a reference to the Hoysaḷa king Vira-Nārasimha II, who was the first to interfere with the South; and also because the next king of that name in the Hoysaḷa genealogy, viz. Nārasimha III is stated to have had his dominions solely confined to the Hoysaḷa kingdom in the Kanarese country with its capital at Dvārasamudra. The distinguishing titles of Vira-Nārasimha are gathered from his records to be 'the uprooter of the Magara kingdom' and 'the establisher of the Chōla-rājya'. Magara is identified by Mr. Rice with the Maharājavāḍi country which included portions of the modern Chintāmaṇi and the Muḷbagal tālukas of the Kolar district and perhaps also a portion of the Cuddapah district. Professor Hultzsch, however, locates this territorial division somewhere in the Coimbatore or Salem district and Mr. Venkayya is of opinion that it may correspond to the Magadaimaṇḍala (roughly South Arcot district) of Tamil inscriptions, which was ruled over in the time of Nārasimha II, by a certain Ponparappinān.<sup>2</sup> The campaign against the Kāḍava, described in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, by the Hoysaḷa generals Appana

<sup>1</sup> There is an unfinished record of a certain Hoysaḷa Ballāla at Mānūr in the Madura district (Epigraphical Collection for 1908, No. 150). It cannot be one of Vira-Ballāla III, whose sway, we know, did not reach so far south as Mānūr. I think, in all probability, the record belongs to the time of Ballāla II.

<sup>2</sup> A record from the Channagiri taluka (Oi. 72) of the Shimoga district states that Vira-Nārasimha marched 100 *gāvuda* (i.e. roughly 1,000 miles) eastward and captured the elephants of Magara conquering all the haughty kings on that side. This statement combined with the route described in the Tiruvēndipuram record of the two generals of Nārasimha II, who were ordered to release the Chōla king then imprisoned at Śēndamaṇḍalam by the Kāḍava king Kōpperuṅjingsadēva, shows that the Magara kingdom must have been the first foreign territory after leaving Dvārasamudra eastward which Nārasimha conquered and that Pāchohūr where he halted might have possibly been a town situated in that kingdom. As again Naṅgili in the Muḷbagal taluka of the Kolar district is stated to have been the eastern boundary of the



and Samudra-Goppaya about A.D. 1231-2 (i.e. the 16th year of the Chōla king Rājārāja III) does not appear to have closed with freedom restored to the Chōla. Perhaps Nārasimha carried his victorious march further into the territory of the Pāṇḍya kings also. This is directly hinted in the Hāranahalli inscription (Ak. 123) which states that Nārasimha was encamped in Śaka 1156 at Ravitadānadakuppa 'with the object of leading a victorious campaign against the Pāṇḍya (king)'. He seems to have subsequently accomplished this object and in memory of it to have set up a pillar of victory at Sētu (i.e. Rāmēśvaram). Nārasimha was apparently associated in this latter campaign with his son Sōmēśvara who, in a record of Śaka 1159 (i.e. two years after his actual coronation) from Gōvīndanahalli (Kr. 63), is stated to have granted eleven villages to his two able generals Bōgayya and Mallayya who in their turn granted them to Brāhmanas in presence of Śrī-Rāmanātha at Sētu. In the north, Nārasimha was not apparently allowed to have his extended dominion without contest. The Sēuṇas regained what had been lost to them in the time of Nārasimha's father the powerful Ballāḷa II. They must have even attempted to push further south and decisive battles appear to have been fought between the Sēuṇa forces and those of the Hoysaḷas. The victory in each case though described as favourable for the Hoysaḷa king has nevertheless to be taken in a modified sense; for, the existence of records in Baligāmi of the Yādava (Sēuṇa) king Singhaṇa so early as A.D. 1215, show that Nārasimha had lost much of his northern possessions including the Banavāsi country. The title 'establisher of the Chōla' borne by Nārasimha II was more than justified by the active help which he is stated to have rendered to the Chōla king Rājārāja III (A.D. 1216 to at least 1245). The Pāṇḍya king who was powerful about this time was Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1216 to at least 1235) who in his records boasts of 'having burnt Tanjore and Uraiyūr and presented the Chōla country'. The hostilities carried on against the Pāṇḍya by Vira-Nārasimha could not, however, have been permanent; for, Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, who succeeded Māravarman Sundara I in A.D. 1239 refers to Sōmēśvara, son of Vira-Nārasimha II as *uncle* Sōmēśvara and also mentions grants made for the merit of the *māmadigal* (i.e. Sōmēśvara). This clearly indicates a change in relationship between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas from the time of Vira-Sōmēśvara though it is not possible to state what this exactly was, and it is not unlikely that there were also intermarriages between the two dynasties.

As suggested above, Vira-Sōmēśvara or Sōvidēvarasa appears to have

Hoysaḷa dominions in the time of Nārasimha, it looks probable also that we have to look for the boundary of the Magara kingdom immediately beyond Naṅgīli. It is very likely, therefore, that Magara comprised part of the old Mahārājavāḍi district as Mr. Rice suggests and portions also of the modern Salem and South Arcot districts.

been actually helping his father in his conquests in the south, being perhaps then only a *yuvarāja*. An inscription at Badanālu in the Mysore district (Nj. 36) gives Sōmēśvara the date Śaka 1151, Sarvadhāri (=A.D. 1228-9) and records that he was occupying Kaṇṇanūr in the Chōla country at the time of the record and bore the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc. This is at least five years prior to the actual coronation of Sōmēśvara and suggests that already by this time, he must have been the chosen crown prince capable enough to govern the Chōla country which his father had probably acquired between the years A.D. 1222 and 1224.<sup>1</sup> It may have been in consequence of this that to him also is attributed in some records the titles: 'Who rolled down the king of Magara, crushed the forces of Kāḍava, uprooted Pāṇḍya and re-established the Chōla sovereign (*chakrin*)' which more naturally formed the distinguishing epithets of his father Nārasimha II. Records attributable to Sōmēśvara count his reign from Śaka 1157 (=A.D. 1234-5) and extend up to his 29th year which would roughly correspond to A.D. 1263-4. In the 2nd or 3rd year after his accession Sōmēśvara is stated to have camped at Maṅgalada-koppa (perhaps Śēdamāṅgalada-koppa?) after completing his victorious campaign against Kāḍavarāya. Evidently this latter chief (viz. Kōpperuñjīga) had attempted to resume his hostile attitude against the Chōla and his ally, the Hoysala, subsequent to the defeat inflicted on him in A.D. 1231-2 by Nārasimha's generals Appaṇa and Samudra-Goppaya. Titles such as 'the uprooter of the Magara' and 'the establisher of the Chōla' appear meaningless in the case of Sōmēśvara none of whose records proper refer to any campaign against the Magara whereas, only one epigraph of his rival Rājendra-Chōla III (A.D. 1246 to at least 1267), found in Śrīraṅgam, mentions the latter as 'the hostile rod of death to uncle Sōmēśvara.' Sōmēśvara is once, however, credited with having 'uprooted Rājendra-Chōla' and to have reinstated him when the latter begged for protection. In a record from the Maṇḍya tāluka (Md. 122), we learn that Sōmadēva 'conquered (the Yāḍava king) Kṛishṇakandhara, pierced into the Chōla country and acquired it, attacked the Pāṇḍya and restored the Chōla'. Sōmēśvara's attitude towards the Pāṇḍyas appears to have been different, as stated already, from that held by his father Nārasimha II. Accordingly, he is called in his later inscriptions 'the elevator of the Pāṇḍya race'; while Nārasimha was known only as 'the displacer of the Pāṇḍyas'. The reason for this was, perhaps, the marital relation that he may have entered into with the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I or his successor Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. Sōmēśvara's capital in the Chōla country is often referred to in lithic records as Vikramapura which has been identified with Kaṇṇanūr a village

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 162.

five miles north of Śrīraṅgam. In his Bangalore plates, dated in Śaka 1175 (=A.D. 1253), it is stated that this town he had founded, to please himself, in the Chōḷa country which he had acquired by conquest.

It is difficult to understand how Sōmēśvara was allowed to have his capital in the very heart of the Chōḷa country though the latter was at that time considerably weak, and why again he thought of settling there permanently leaving his young son Nārasimha III, in charge of the ancestral territory in Mysore, as early as A.D. 1255. The permanent interest which Sōmēśvara had in the South is yet to be revealed by future researches. Perhaps we may venture to suggest that the growing power of the Yādava king Siṅghana on the one hand and, on the other, the attractive political changes in the South in which Sōmēśvara apparently interested himself, may have contributed to this distribution of attention which cannot but have eventually resulted in the weakening of the Hoysala power. This period of history in the Chōḷa country was particularly one of bewildering confusion. The Chōḷa emperor though weak, still managed to hold a nominal rule over almost the whole of his hereditary possessions. The Pāṇḍyas flourished side by side now dispossessing the Chōḷas partly of their dominions and now retiring. The northern portions of the Chōḷa country, at any rate, were permanently snatched away by Kōpperuṅginga and his Telugu-Chōḷa feudatories. The Kakatiya king Gaṇapati of Waraṅgal also appears to have made a dash just at this time into the South, to have taken Kāñchi and to have encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam. Amidst such circumstances no territorial distribution or demarcation was possible. Consequently Sōmēśvara must have held his little estate in the South by entering, as may be expected, into deadly conflicts with rival claimants or adventurous intruders. His records in the Tamiḷ country extend over a good part of the Trichinopoly district being found in Śrīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram, Tiruvāśi, Ratnagiri and Tirumalavāḍi and at Mannārguḍi in the Tanjore district. We do not know if Sōmēśvara's sway extended beyond the Trichinopoly and the Tanjore districts, into the farthest south. Some lithic records from Tinnevely and its suburbs clearly indicate the influence of the Hoysala king Vira-Sōmēśvara in that part of the country, though perhaps in a subordinate capacity. It, indeed, appears likely that Vira-Sōmēśvara in helping the Pāṇḍya kings, his allies, had penetrated also into the Tinnevely district. A stone inscription at Nuggihalli (Cn. 238), dated in A.D. 1246-7, refers to Sōmēśvara's forces being at that time on the banks of the Tāmaraparnī river.

In almost all Tamiḷ records king Sōmēśvara signs his name as *Mala-paroḷugaṇḍa* which had been the title of the Hoysalas from the very commencement of their career. The magnificent *gōpura* of seven stories of the Jambukēśvaram temple appears to have been built in his reign.

Within the enclosure of this same Śiva temple Sōmēśvara in the 2nd year of his reign (=A.D. 1236-7) established several minor shrines called Vallāliśvara, Padumaliśvara, Viranārasingīśvara and Sōmaliśvara evidently after his grandfather Ballāja II, grandmother Padmaladēvi, father Vira-Nārasimha and aunt Sōvaladēvi who it is stated elsewhere was to him 'like a mother'. Sōmalamahādēvi who provided for the repairs, worship, etc., in these shrines in the 25th year of the king (corresponding roughly to A.D. 1260) must have been the aunt Sōvaladēvi for whose merit one of the shrines, was built. It is not possible that the reference in this latter record is to Sōmēśvara's queen Sōvaladēvi as Professor Hultzsch has taken it; for, it is inferred from the date of Sōmēśvara's Bangalore Museum plates that queen Sōmaladēvi must have died before A.D. 1253. At Kaṇṇanūr *alias* Vikramapura was established also the temple of Pōśaliśvara (the modern Bhōjiśvara) in the name of his mother Kā[la]ladēvi. Sōmēśvara was evidently of a Śaivaite turn of mind. It may be interesting to note that two inscriptions at Jambukēśvaram, dated in the 21st year of Sōmēśvara's reign (i. e. about A.D. 1256) refer to a sale of land to a certain Jākhaladēvi or Jāgaladēvi, wife of Jājalladēva of the Saubhānavamśa. She was a pilgrim to this distant sacred shrine of the south from the Kāsambarīdēśa which was apparently a district somewhere in the north.

Inscriptions of Sōmēśvara, dated between his 6th (i. e. A. D. 1241) and 21st (i. e. A. D. 1256) years are conspicuously absent in the Tanjore and the Trichinopoly districts. This falls into the period just after the accession of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, who as stated before claimed Sōmēśvara to be his *Māmaḍigaḷ* (uncle or father-in-law). From the Tirumaiyam record of about A. D. 1246 we learn that a general of Vira-Sōmēśvara named Appaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka conquered Kāna-nāḍu in Virudaraāja-bhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu which was one of the territorial divisions of the Chōla country. Another chief, Siṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, perhaps the son of the *Mahāpradhāni Kumāra-Gaṇḍarakōva* Sōmaya-Daṇḍanāyaka, appears also to have conquered the Tamil country (on behalf of Sōmēśvara) about A. D. 1240-1. From these two facts we have perhaps to infer that Sōmēśvara was now actively helping Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II in his attempts to encroach upon the Chōla territory. Sōmēśvara's temporary absence from his southern possessions between the 6th and 21st years of his reign, must, consequently, have been, as suggested by the Nuggihaḷḷi record, due to his co-operation with Maravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II against a common enemy in the Tinnevely district. Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was succeeded by Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who apparently revived hostilities with the Kārṇāṭa king Sōmēśvara. Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was a great Vaishṇava and to him are due the vast improvements in the temple of Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam. A record

from the Raṅganātha temple states that Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I 'despatched to the other world the moon of Kaṛṇāṭa' evidently meaning, that he killed the Hoysaḷa king Sōmēśvara 'by whom this lotus-pond of Śrīraṅga had been reduced to a pitiable state.' As, however, the latest date for Sōmēśvara derived from his southern inscriptions is his 29th year (=A.D. 1264-5) and as Sundara-Pāṇḍya I is stated to have occupied Sōmēśvara's southern capital Kaṇṇanūr about the same period, we may not be far wrong in inferring that Sōmēśvara was killed by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I in or a little before A.D. 1264-5 and that the date of the Raṅganātha inscription could not have been far distant from this.

Sōmēśvara's son by the Chāḷukya queen Dēvalamahādēvī was Vira-Rāmanātha and his other son by Bijjaḷarāṇi, was Nārasimha III. From the distribution of stone inscriptions of these two claimants to the Hoysaḷa throne it is inferred that the kingdom must have been divided between them, the Kaṛṇāṭa country going to the share of Nārasimha III and the Tamiḷ possessions to Vira-Rāmanātha. This seems to be pointedly referred to in Nārasimha's Belūr copperplates which state that 'king Nārasimha was staying in his capital Dvārasamudra which was raised to that flourishing condition by his kind father and was situated within *his own* Hoysaḷa country.' Nārasimha III seems to have taken charge of his paternal estate at an early age when he was only fifteen years old and to have defended his kingdom successfully against the aggressive Yādava king Mahādēva-Rāṇe and his nephew Rāmachandradēva. The famous general of the latter, Śaḷuva Tikkama evidently attacked Dvārasamudra in A.D. 1276, but was 'driven back in confusion beyond Dummi.' A fragmentary Kanarese inscription now preserved in the National Museum at Copenhagen refers to an invasion of a certain Śaḷuveya against a place whose name is, however, lost on the stone. There is no doubt the missing name here is that of Dvārasamudra and the events registered in the Copenhagen *vīraḡal* refer to the attack on Dvārasamudra by the Sēuṇa general Śaḷuva Tikkama. Another fragment of a *vīraḡal* from the same Museum apparently refers to a conflict in which Vira-Rāmanātha and Nārasimha III were interested.

Vira-Rāmanātha's accession in the Tamiḷ districts, coincided with that of his brother Nārasimha III in the Kaṛṇāṭa country and took place about A.D. 1255. It was at this time that in Kaṇṇanūr their father Vira-Sōmēśvara assumed the imperial titles of *Sārvabhauma* and performed the royal gifts *tulāpurusha*, *ratnadhēnu*, etc. As Rāmanātha's initial date coincides with about the 21st year of Vira-Sōmēśvara's reign and as the latest date for the latter is his 29th year, it has to be presumed that Rāmanātha was coregent with his father during the first eight years of his reign. His records are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, in some parts of Salem, North Arcot and Bellary and in the Kolar and

Bangalore districts of the Mysore State. Rāmanātha assumed all the titles of his father Vira-Sōmēśvara. In the 4th year of his reign which corresponded to the twenty-third of his father Sōmēśvara, a general checking of accounts (*jamābandi*) appears to have been organized. It is interesting also to note that one of his queens was Kamalādēvī, the daughter of Ariya Pillai who, as his name denotes, was evidently of southern extraction. A record at Tiruvellarai near Śrīraṅgam refers to a communal repair made to the Vāṇigan's-tank (now called *Nālumūlaikkēni*) on the south side of that village. It is reported that the tank had sunk in on its four sides and was filled up with rain water probably on account of heavy rains in or about the 8th year of Rāmanātha. This tank is still one of considerable interest at Tiruvellarai on account of its unique construction and the archaic inscriptions of about the ninth century A.D. found on its walls constructed of huge solid slabs. In the 15th year of the king's reign the salt sellers at Tirumalavāḍi were exempted from paying taxes on the lands held by them but were, instead, required to measure one *nālī* of salt everyday for the temple at Tirumalavāḍi (in the Trichinopoly district). The temple of Śrīraṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam was substantially benefited in Rāmanātha's reign by the gift of a gold crown set with jewels, by two fly-whisks provided with gold handles and a *kālāñji* (betel-pot), transferred to it by a certain *Mudaliyār* Kariyamari, entitled *Sakalakalasarvabhauma* and *Sakalavidyāchakravartin*. It is stated that this latter personage had received them as presents from Perumāḷ Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, apparently on account of his high proficiency in learning.<sup>1</sup>

It has been stated already that Vira-Rāmanātha was holding sway over the Salem district also. Some of his feudatories, there, were the *Mudaliyārs* of Tāramaṅgalam generally known as *Geṭṭi-Mudaliyārs*. While Rāmanātha's capital in the south was Kaṇṇanūr his chief town above the ghats on the Mysore border appears to have been *Kundāni*. I owe to Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., the suggestion that *Kundāni-rājadhāni* mentioned in Rāmanātha's inscriptions from the Tumkur district, probably takes its name from this *Kundāni* above the ghats and not from the village *Kundāna* in the Dēvanhalli tāluka of the Bangalore district as suggested by Mr. Rice. The existence of Rāmanātha's records occasionally in the Hassan district must be accounted for as being due only to his aggressive attitude which is more than once referred to in those epigraphs. According to Southern inscriptions the latest date available for Vira-Rāmanātha is his 23rd year which roughly corresponds to A.D. 1278. In Mysore his inscriptions go up to his 39th year, Vijaya, and even also to his 41st. In the last days of his reign (about 1290), Rāmanātha seems

<sup>1</sup> Perumāḷ Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva must evidently have been the same as Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira-Pāṇḍya who seems to have been coregent with Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and to have commenced to reign between A.D. 1252 and 1253.

to have led a campaign against Nārasimha III at Dvārasamudra. The absence of records beyond his 23rd year in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts shows that by this time Rāmanātha was dispossessed of them by the rising Pāṇdyas and that, consequently, he chose to stay in his northern dominions now and then raiding, as opportunity offered itself, into the country of his cousin-brother Nārasimha III.

About A.D. 1293-4 Vira-Rāmanātha must have been succeeded by his son Vira-Viśvanātha whose 3rd year, Durmukhi, corresponded to Śaka 1218. Viśvanātha's records are, as may be expected, confined to portions of the Salem district and to the Bangalore and Kolar districts of the Mysore State. His latest inscription discovered, so far, is dated in his 4th year which corresponds roughly to A.D. 1297.

Under Vira-Ballāla III, the son of Nārasimha, the Hoysala dominions above and below the ghats appear to have become reunited once again and to have enjoyed an apparently peaceful rule prior to their eventual disappearance in the rising power of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Except for the loss of the southernmost possessions of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, the Hoysala kingdom does not appear to have suffered otherwise in extent. The whole of Kōngu and a part at least of Kōṅkan were still in possession of Ballāla and practically also the whole of the Mysore country. Ballāla III was crowned in A.D. 1292 when Rāmanātha was still alive and, consequently, the fight for dominion which began in the last days of Nārasimha III must have continued also into the reign of Ballāla as is evidently hinted in Kn. 28 from the Bangalore district. Subsequent, however, to the short rule of Viśvanātha there was apparently none left to continue the line of Rāmanātha. Ballāla, accordingly, became the sole master. This must have been about Śaka 1224 Plava (=A.D. 1302) when, we find that a number of districts above and below the ghats were granted remission of taxes on *Maṭhas* and temple-priests and the past endowments confirmed. This was one of the first steps which Indian kings used to take soon after coming into power, in order to secure the goodwill of the people. Ballāla's dominions, thus united, were not, however, destined to enjoy undisturbed peace for a long time. In A.D. 1310 came the first invasion of Malik Kāfur in which the Mussalman general is stated to have sacked and devastated Dvārasamudra and to have carried away its hoarded treasures. The capital was rebuilt but its charms were apparently lost. Ballāla in the meantime had changed his capital first to Tonnūr according to tradition and thence to Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot district. Other capital towns mentioned in his inscriptions are Viravijaya-Virūpākshapura and Hosaviṭṭu-Hosadurga which latter is perhaps to be identified with Hosapaṭṭana (Hospet?) where Bukkaṇṇa-Voḍeyar of Vijayanagara was ruling in the early years of his reign.

When Ballāla actually changed his seat of government to Tiruvannā-

malai is not known. In A.D. 1323 Unnāmalai-paṭṭanam is stated to have been his *permanent* capital. The latest date for Ballāḷa obtained from inscriptions is Śaka 1265 (=A.D. 1343). By this time already Harihara I, the founder of the First Vijayanagara dynasty, must have established himself in Koṅkaṇ. Ballāḷa's viceroy at Bārūkūr in Śaka 1262, was a certain Dēvappa-Daṇḍanāyaka. The king is stated to have visited this—his military stronghold, in Śaka 1261. A representative of the government, further north on the West coast, in the last days of the Hoysaḷa rule, appears to have been a certain Shamkaranaik to whom the Rāṇi of Barcelore was subordinate. Evidently, the latter is identical with the chief of that name subdued by the rising Vijayanagara chiefs Harihara and Bukka. Another feudatory, viz. Vallappa-Daṇḍanāyakkar who frequently figures in inscriptions of the latter part of Ballāḷa's reign, appears to be identical with *Alīya* or 'Son-in-law' Vallappar, a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under Harihara I. A powerful family of subordinates, however, were the chiefs of Daṇāyakankōṭṭai in the Satyamangalam tāluka of the Coimbatore district who, when the firm hold of imperial suzerainty had grown slack, seem to have declared themselves independent. These were, according to inscriptions from the Mysore district, rulers of Padināḷku-nāḍu originally with their seat of government at Terakanāmbi. The founder of the family was the powerful general Perumāḷe-Daṇḍanāyaka. His son Mādhava-Daṇḍanāyaka was equally if not more, powerful and assumed the titles 'the subduer of Nilagiri' *Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāya*, *Sitagaraḡaṇḍa*, *Koṅgaramāri*, etc. In his report on Epigraphy for 1906 Mr. Venkkayya has fully discussed the position of these chiefs of Daṇāyakankōṭṭai and their relation to the Hoysaḷa ruler Ballāḷa III. More information about Kētaya-Daṇḍanāyaka and Singaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, the two sons of Mādhava-Daṇḍanāyaka, is found in the Madras *Report on Epigraphy* for 1909-10 (Part II, paragraph 52). Other chiefs who rose to even greater prominence and effectively subverted the Hoysaḷa empire were Harihara and Bukka the founders of the Vijayanagara dynasty whose exact subordinate position to Ballāḷa III is not yet revealed by inscriptions.

Ballāḷa's son who was crowned at a place called Virūpākshapura is known only from very few records. He was designated Vīra-Virūpāksha Ballāḷadēva IV and sometimes, Hampayya. But as the Vijayanagara chiefs had already grown powerful we may suppose that with Ballāḷa III ended the empire of Hoysaḷas which subsequently, under the name Kaṇṇāṭa, was continued by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty for another three centuries and more. The once glorious memory of the Hoysaḷa rule, is still embedded in a numerically small section of indigenous Brāhmaṇas of the Mysore country called Hoysaṇa- or Hoysaḷa-Kaṇṇāṭakas or Hoysaṇigas. Many of these Brāhmaṇas are found in the Salem and North Arcot districts which were included in the Hoysaḷa kingdom to the very last



days of its existence. In the 17th century A.D. at Venkunram of the North Arcot district, there was a petty chief called Kāṇhōji who claimed descent from Viṭṭhala (Viṣṇuvardhana), the Hoysaḷa king of Haḷēbīḍ, and erected there a rest house for the merit of his mother. This is the last we hear of the name Hoysaḷa. Living but dumb monuments, however, of their once prosperous rule are, as stated at the beginning of this paper, the thousands of inscribed pillars and slabs which bear records of enormous historical interest, social, political and religious. If anything more is required there exist even to-day in all their glory those specimens of Indian architecture, the magnificent temples of Haḷēbīḍ, Bēlūr, Sōmanāthapūr, Araṣikere and numerous others of which the veteran critic Mr. Fergusson says that the style to which these buildings belonged 'attained its fullest development and highest degree of perfection during the three centuries A.D. 1000 to 1300 in which the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷas had supreme sway in the Mysore country.'

## NOTES

Page 114, line 2, from bottom

'The number refers either to revenue or to the number of townships in the Province as Dr. Fleet would have it. It forms always a part of certain provinces in the plateau region'.—S. K.

Page 115, line 9, from top

For another view of this position see Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 230-1.—Ed.

Page 115, line 13, from top

See also the above mentioned book, pp. 119-126.—Ed.

Page 119, line 20, from top

The connexion is explained in the above mentioned book, p. 241.—Ed.

# TALKAD, THE BURIED CITY

BY THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE Mysore Province can boast of many places of interest which unfortunately are not so well known as they deserve to be. One of these is certainly Talkad, the city buried under the sands of the Cauvery.

An excursion to this wonderful place was arranged by a few members of the Mythic Society at the end of last year and as I have been asked to give an account of it I do so with pleasure in the hope that others will follow us and pay a visit to Talkad, the oldest city in Mysore, once a proud capital of a powerful kingdom.

The best way to reach Talkad from Bangalore is by motor from Maddur, the distance to the old capital of the Gangas from the railway station being about fifty miles. On the way one can inspect the battle field of Malavalli where Tippu was defeated by General Harris in 1799, and spend a few hours at the famous Cauvery falls at Sivasamudram.

The twenty miles from Sivasamudram to Talkad are over rough country roads, a sign that Talkad is out of the ordinary tourist's beat.

The old city of Talkad is completely buried beneath hills of sand stretching for over a mile in length, only the tops of two pagodas being visible. It is stated that more than thirty temples are buried under the dunes, which at some places rise nearly 100 feet above the level of the river. The place is weird beyond words. The solemn stillness of this ruined world, the sacred river winding majestically through that solitude, the feeling that buried under one's feet, lies what was once a magnificent city, the sands which used to advance upon the town at the rate of nine or ten feet a year, and which in spite of all that has been done in recent years to check the formation and advance of the dunes, still threaten the new town with the same fate which has overwhelmed the old one,—everything combines to make the excursion to Talkad a unique experience for those who have not had the privilege to tread over the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh.

The phenomenon is of course due to natural causes, more especially to the south-west monsoon, but the people look upon it as the result of a curse an account of which I quote from Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*.

In 1634 Talkad was conquered by the Mysore Raja under the following circumstances: Tirumala Raya, sometimes called Sri Ranga Rayal, the representative of the

Vijayanagar family at Seringapatam, being afflicted with an incurable disease, came to Talkad for the purpose of offering sacrifices in the temple of Vedesvara. His wife Rangamma was left in charge of the Government of Seringapatam; but she, hearing that her husband was on the point of death, soon after left for Talkad with the object of seeing him before he died, handing over Seringapatam and its dependencies to Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, whose dynasty ever afterwards retained them. It appears that Raja Wodeyar had been desirous of possessing a costly nose-jewel which was the property of the Rani,<sup>1</sup> and being unable to obtain possession of it by stratagem, and eager to seize any pretext for acquiring fresh territory, he levied an army and proceeded against Talkad, which he took by escalade; the Raja of the latter place falling in the action. The Rani Rangamma thereupon went to the banks of the Cauvery, and throwing in the jewel, drowned herself opposite Malingi, at the same time uttering the threefold curse, 'Let Talkad become sand; let Malingi become a whirlpool; let the Mysore Rajas fail to beget heirs.'

The following is what is known as the curse of Talkad, in the original :—

*Talakadu marai agali.*

*Malingi maduv agali.*

*Maisuru dhoregalu makkal illade hogali.*

The most imposing temple left uncovered by the sand is that of Vēdēsvara in front of which are two stone images declared to represent the two brothers Tala and Kadu whom local legends mention in connexion with the origin of the town. When cutting down a tree which they saw wild elephants worshipping, they discovered that it contained an image of Vishnu and that the elephants were rishis transformed. From the extract of the Sri Skanda Purana which will be given below it would seem that the place was sacred originally not to Vishnu but to Siva. It is probably in connexion with the elephants referred to in the legend and in the Purana that the Gangas had an elephant for their crest.

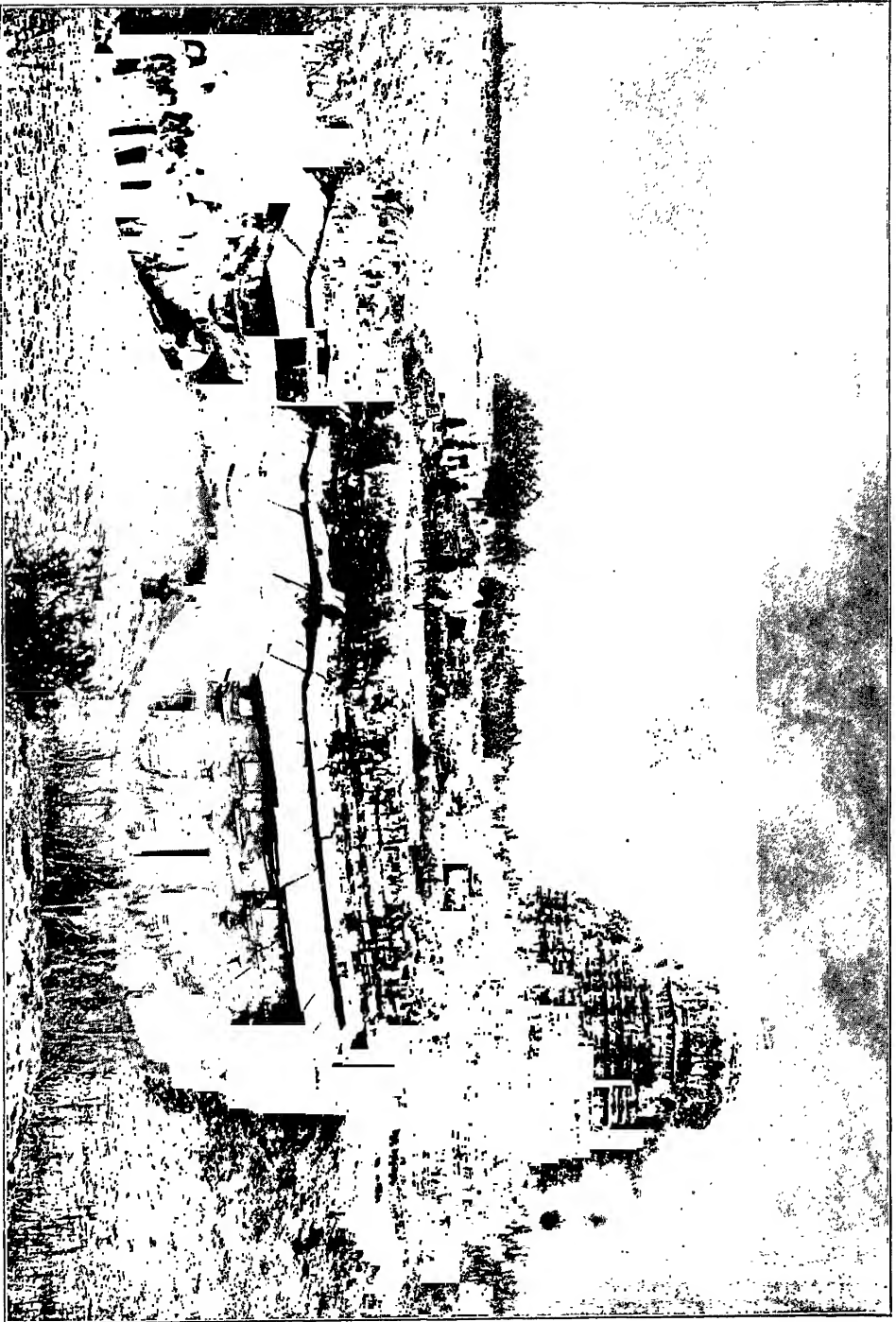
The most important temple which has been excavated is that of Kirti Nārāyaṇa which is occasionally opened with great difficulty to gain access for certain ceremonies.

Whatever may be the antiquity of Talkad, whether or not Rama halted here on his way to Lanka as some traditions have it, the earliest authentic notice of the city of Talkad, in Sanskrit Dala-vana-pura is in connexion with the Ganga line of kings. Harivarma ruling 247—266 resided, according to an old chronicle, in the great city of Dalavanapura in the Karnata Desa and thenceforward, till the end of the first millennium A.D. Talkad was the capital of Gangavadi 96,000,<sup>2</sup> so that for about a thousand years the history of Talkad is the history of the Gangas.

Yet, though Talkad remained the permanent capital, the royal residence was fixed at Mankonda (west of Channapatna) in the seventh century and at Manya-pura (Manne north of Nelamangala) in the eighth century.

<sup>1</sup> For another and probably more correct version of the story, vide Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 284.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> This figure which is always attached to the name of the Gangas' country indicates either the revenue paid to Government or the value of the produce derived from the land.



KIRTI NARAYANA TEMPLE AT TALWAD



The religion of the rulers of Talkad was Jainism, though if we can rely on inscriptions over which a certain amount of doubt has been thrown on palæographical and other grounds Vishnugopa (266— ? ) was a worshipper of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) and Avinita (430—432) a devotee of Hara (Siva). Those interested in the early history of the Gangas who are prepared to accept the authenticity of the inscriptions on which it is based will find a succinct account of it in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*.

The kings of Talkad may be said to have reached the height of their prosperity during the reign of Sripurusha in the seventh century. But soon after, the Gangas unable to stay the advance of the Rāshtrakūṭas southwards, became their feudatories. The overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas in A.D. 972 by the Chalukyas left the Gangas at the mercy of the Cholas who occupied Talkad in about 1004 under the command of Rajendra Chola, son of Rajaraja, who changed its name to Rajarajapura. The Gangas driven from their kingdom took refuge with the Hoysalas. A dispossessed scion of the Gangas, Gangaraja, a general of Vishnuvardhana, took a prominent place in the capture of Talkad under that famous Hoysala King at the beginning of the twelfth century. From inscriptions we find that at that time Talkad was composed of seven towns and five maṭas. The town of Malingi on the opposite side of the river was also a large place under the name of Jananathapura.

Down to the middle of the fourteenth century Talkad remained in the possession of the Hoysalas and then passed into the hands of a feudatory of the Vijayanagar sovereigns till 1634 when it was conquered by the Mysore Rajas under the circumstances related above.

Some day, perhaps, the Mysore Government will see their way to carry out extensive excavations at Talkad which may yield discoveries of great historical and archæological interest.

I have had the good fortune to come across a local Purana celebrating the greatness and the holiness of the Talkad country, a translation of which will I hope be acceptable to the readers of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*. It is divided into five parts, each one giving a special reason for the sacredness of the place.

## SRI SKANDA PURANA

THE GREATNESS OF GAJĀRĀṆYA, THE DAKSHIṆA KĀSI (THE KĀSI  
OF THE SOUTH)

### I

ŚAUNAKA and the other rishis asked Sūtapurāṇika: Rishi, we are very anxious to know what is Gajāranya.

Says Sūtapurāṇika : There is a sacred place between Somaparvata, i.e. Mudukudore betta<sup>1</sup> and Ārkaparvata, i.e. Chilakavādi betta (this is Talkad). Here Siva is known under the title of Vaidyanātha.

Here Siva boasts of graciously freeing all his devotees from all the pains of this world.

If those that desire children or riches or kingdom come to this Gajāraṇya and serve Siva, their desires will without doubt be accomplished.

Formerly this Gajāraṇya was a large forest, inhabited by elephants and in it was a sacred tank called Gōkarnathīrtha.

Every day a certain elephant would nip a white lotus flower, fill his trunk with pure water, and carry them both to a bush, sprinkle the same with water, deposit the flower and prostrate. Two huntsmen seeing this began to inquire why the elephant did so.

And as they could not find out the reason, they at last took a hatchet and began to cut the bush.

They found a cotton tree in the middle of the bush and applied the hatchet to its trunk in order to cut it.

Then the hatchet of one of them, by the violence with which it was wielded, not only cut the tree, but striking against a rock on the ground nipped away its crown.

Hear, O Rishis : as soon as the stone was split there oozed blood out of it and the blood was changed into milk.

The huntsmen being frightened began to think. At once their eyes perceived a linga with its head cut off.

Then having understood that they had committed a crime, they stood joining their hands and shedding tears ; and with a tremulous voice prayed to the God thus : ' O God, O Linga-figured Almighty, O thou that art armed with a trident, the enemy of lust, the destroyer of "the triple fortress", we are small children, unwittingly we have offended thee, thou must forgive us, thou must forgive us.'

And praying thus they fell senseless on the ground. A little while after a voice from the skies said to them : ' O hunters, I am come on account of you. Lo ! I am giving you a great boon. Both of you drink this milk and remain here as guardians of the place. I too will stay here. I will admit this elephant into Kailāsa (the abode of Siva). Take the fruit of the cotton tree close by, grind it and put a plaster on my head. The wound shall heal forthwith.'

The huntsmen were filled with joy on hearing this and grinding the fruit plastered the head of the linga.

<sup>1</sup> This is a sacred Hill on the banks of the Cauvery where the river takes a sudden turn to the south two miles before Talkad is reached. On the Hill there is a temple dedicated to Mallikarjuna.

Forthwith the wound healed up, and the linga became resplendent. The huntsmen ran and drank the milk.

Immediately they abandoned their hunter form and became guardians. Even now they are in the Gajāranya under the form of stone.

The elephant too having worshipped the God by means of the lotus, felt hungry, drank the milk and went to Kailāsa. Thus Siva became famous in the world under the name of Vaidyanātha, because he prescribed medicine to the wound in his own head.

Any disease, such as sore eyes, headache, consumption, epilepsy, ague, disease of the spleen, asthma, poisoning, madness, buboes (plague), rheumatism, carbuncle, and all other kinds of disease whether contagious or hereditary are certainly cured by a plaster of the earth that is near Siva. If one bathes in the excellent waters of the lake Gōkarnathirtha and worship Siva with the lotus flower, all diseases are cured, all desires are fulfilled, and finally heaven is obtained.

With Arkēswara Mūrthi in the east, Pāthālēswara Mūrthi in the south, Maralēswara Mūrthi in the west, Mallikarjuna Mūrthi in the north, Siva remains in the Gajāranya in the middle of these Mūrthis under the name of Vaidyēswara Mūrthi.

## II

And here the Cāuvéry is famous under the name of Paschimavāhini, because here she flows to the west.

Hear, O excellent Brahmins: whoever bathes in this Paschimavāhini, not only will he have his sins forgiven, but he will no more be subject to them.

Besides, if any one, after bathing in the Cāuvéry, worships Mallikarjuna with (the leaves of) the Bael (Bengal quince) he will obtain the fulfilment of all his desires.

Hear, O Brahmins: the bathing in the Paschimavāhini is a difficult thing and the worship of Mallikarjuna is still more difficult.

In former times a celebrated and brave king of the Solar dynasty called Dilīpa was ruling the kingdom of the world.

Some cunning enemies of his conquered this Dilīpa, and having administered poison to his pregnant queen, drove them away from the kingdom.

Thus the enemies having taken possession of his kingdom, the king full of grief at this misfortune, wandered on foot from place to place, accompanied by his wife, and fortunately reached the banks of the Paschimavāhini. There he remained two or three days and then died.

As soon as the husband was dead, the faithful wife was plunged in grief and having collected fuel and built a funeral pyre, she placed the body of her husband on it, set fire to the pile and was about to throw herself into it.



Then a joyful voice was heard to say: 'O maiden, do not attempt it. You have in your womb a virtuous son, worthy of being the master of the seven isles'.

Having heard this heavenly voice that faithful woman burnt the body of her husband, and grief overwhelming her she remained alone in the place.

There she was in the habit of bathing daily in the Paschimavāhini and worshipping Siva. When nine months were completed, she brought forth a son, resplendent like the morning sun, having the thirty-two royal signs, and bearing besides the signs of the poison administered by the enemies of his father.

As the boy grew up day by day like the crescent moon, he too did severe penance and pleased Siva.

Then Siva, the master of the world, being pleased with the penance of the boy blessed him and said: 'O king, go now to your kingdom, kill your cruel enemies and take it back. Rule it with justice; and having taken possession of the whole world consisting of seven isles, rule it as if it were only a town. With my blessing you will have 60,000 children'. He gave him many other boons besides, and disappeared.

The king Sagara too, with the help of Mallikarjuna destroyed his strong enemies, became a famous emperor, and ruled the whole world with justice. This is why this place of pilgrimage is so famous. So said Sūtapurāṇika to Śaunaka and the other rishis.

### III

'O Sūtapurāṇika, you call this Gajāraṇya, please explain to us the glory of this place.'

In former times there lived a Brahmin called Sōmadatta, of the tribe of the Vashista and well-versed in the Vedas.

He had thousands of disciples skilled in the Shastras and the Vedanta.

Having felt an aversion to the world, one day he started with his disciples for the great Kāsi, a place served by the gods and the rishis. There he pleased Siva by his various penitential acts.

Pleased with the penance of the Brahmin, Siva appeared to him and with a smile said 'O Sōmadatta, I am pleased with your piety and your penance. Ask for any boon for yourself and your disciples; it shall be granted'.

The Brahmin who knew the past and the future thought for a long time and then addressing Siva said: 'Lord, I am tired of the countless rebirths to which I have been subjected, I want only one boon and that is, give me a place where a man is always happy without any sorrow of recurring birth and death'.

Then said Siva: 'Be it so'; and turning to his supplicant; 'O excellent Brahmin', said he, 'about five miles (four and a half miles to be exact) from the confluence of the rivers Cāuvéry and Kapila there exists an ashrama (habitation of a rishi) by name Siddāshrama belonging to the great rishi Richika. This ashrama is filled with all kinds of inspired sages (Siddas) and with animals which laying aside their natural animosity, live exceedingly mild.

'I am known there under the name of Vaidēswara. It is an excellent place of pilgrimage, a hundred times better than Kāsi. It is capable of effecting an intimate union with my divine essence.' So said Siva and he disappeared with his 1,000 attendants.

The Brahmin filled with wonder and having venerated Siva, started accompanied by many Brahmins for this place of pilgrimage, with the desire of obtaining heaven.

Thus while they were close to the Vindya mountains, countless elephants came in their way and destroyed them all.

But because these Brahmins, while they were being destroyed, were thinking only of the elephants and of Siva, they were, through the kindness of the latter, reborn as elephants and reached the place of pilgrimage.

There the elephants, having perceived Siva who remedies all the evils of his devotees and venerated him at a distance, began to bathe in the Cāuvéry and thence standing near Siva, they meditated on his incarnation.

Siva who has the interest of his devotees at heart, united them all in his essence in presence of all the rishis and made them conformable to himself.

From the time the elephants obtained heaven the place was named Gajāraṇya. Even now there are thousands of lingas in the place that have been honoured by those Brahmins who had assumed the form of elephants.

Many kings like Manuchakravarthi, piously honoured thousands of lingas in this place and obtained the paradise of Siva.

Indra came here with his thirty-three crores of gods, honoured the lingas and obtained all he desired.

Kubēra honoured the lingas very devoutly, and obtained his supremacy over the riches and the kingdom of Alakāpuri.

Here Sūrya (Sun) worshipped Siva and became the lord of all the stars. Thus Siva honoured by Sūrya is called Arkēswara.

Those that bathe in the Uttaravāhini of the Cāuvéry, and worship Arkēswara, will obtain all pleasures and will, in the end, obtain union with Siva in the Sūryaloka (the heaven of Sūrya).

Vāsuki worshipped Siva in this place and became the king of serpents. Thus Siva worshipped by Vāsuki is known under the name of Pāthālēswara.

Hear, O rishis : those that bathe in the Purvavāhini, which is in the Gajāranya and piously worship Pathālēsvara, will obtain the serpent's paradise and will enjoy happiness for a long time and will, in the end, go to the paradise of Siva where there is no rebirth.

## IV

Even Brahma did penance in this Kshētra, and through the graciousness of Siva, married his own daughter Sarasvatī.

While this was being said, Śaunaka and the other rishis asked Sūta-purāṇika ; ' O excellent rishi, what an uncommon thing you are narrating ! Could anybody marry his own daughter ? We humbly beg you to explain us this.'

Says Sūtapurāṇika : ' Hear O excellent rishis, this is a wonderful story. Those that are worthy to hear the story will obtain the remission of sins and gain the paradise of Siva.

Formerly Brahma having been ordered by Siva to create all worlds, created them all, together with the living beings proper to each.

Thus while in course of creation, he made Śārādādevī, who had a neck like a conch shell, a gladdening face like the full moon.

Thus Brahma seeing his own beautiful daughter Śārādā, was enamoured of her and went to embrace her forcibly.

Śārādā was frightened at this and taking the form of a deer was running away calling out all the while to Siva. Brahma seeing this took the form of a buck and pursued her.

Then Paramēswara, the husband of Parvatī, hearing the wailing of Śārādā, ran to her assistance and cut off the head of Brahma with the bow called Pināka. O Brahmins even now you see the figure of this animal's head in the constellation of stars.

Thus having been despised by Siva the exterminator of all evil-doers Brahma came to Gajāranya and was worshipping Siva according to the Vedas.

Siva knew the object of Brahma's worship and gave Śārādā to him as wife.

Therefore here O rishis, whoever bathes in the Dakshinavāhini of the Cāuvēry and worships Maralēsvara will be freed from the sin of incest.

## V

It is in this very Gajāranya, that Kāmadēnu (the cow of plenty) having worshipped Mallikarjuna who lives in Somapārvata in the north obtained through the kindness of Bagavanta the boon of granting all the desires of those that have recourse to her.

If any one after bathing in the Paschimavāhini worships Mallikarjuna on the fourteenth of Kārtika (eighth Lunar month—October-November) with unbroken Bael fruits and flowers and thulasi (Basil) leaves, all his sins, even the killing of a Brahmin, will undoubtedly be pardoned.

Hear, O rishis: Here lives the wife of Siva and the daughter of Girirāja (king of mountains). She is famous in the three worlds under the name of Chāmundi.

Sachidēvi worshipped this Chāmundi for a long time and obtained through her favour the boon of becoming Indra's wife.

If married women worship this great goddess on the third of Bhādra (August-September) they will not lose their husbands. Likewise if widows worship her on the same day, they will have no fear of widowhood in the next birth.

If a poor man piously worships this goddess on the ninth day of Āsvina (seventh Lunar month—September-October) he shall obtain immense wealth. If those that desire either progeny or wealth or kingdom worship this great goddess according to all the śāstras, all their desires will be accomplished.

If any one piously worships Vaidyēswara (Siva) on the fifteenth of Vaiśākha (second Lunar month—April-May) he shall be intimately united with Siva.

Hear, O excellent Brahmins: Those that worship Arkēswara on the seventh day of Magha (eleventh Lunar month—January-February) shall obtain the paradise of Siva.

Those that worship Pāthālēswara on the fifth day of Śrāvana (fifth Lunar month) will become conformable to Siva.

Those that piously and properly worship Maralēswara on the fourteenth day of Magha (eleventh Lunar month) shall be intimately united with Siva.

Those that piously worship Mallikarjuna on the eighth of Kārtika (eighth Lunar month—October-November) will obtain union with Siva.

The five Mūrthis Vaidyēswara, Arkēswara, Pāthālēswara, Maralēswara and Mallikarjunēswara are the five faces of Siva.

Those that visit these divine Mūrthis in one day will obtain intimate union with Siva.

After having bathed in the tank of Gokarna one must worship Chāndīdevi (Durga), prostrate before her three times and then worship Vaidyanātha and the other Mūrthis.

Chāndī should be visited first and then Vaidyēswara should be worshipped. Then Arkēswara should be visited and again Vaidyēswara should be worshipped. Then Pāthālēswara, Maralēswara, Mallikarjunēswara, should each be visited and all this worship should be offered to Vaidyēswara.

Thus those that worship Siva in the abovesaid manner will obtain intimate union with him.

O excellent rishis, in no place is it so easy to obtain heaven as in Gajāranya, hence the wise must serve in the Gajāranya.

There is no difference between Vaidyēswara, Visvēswara, Gokarna Tank, Manikarnike, Cāuvéry, Ganga, Gajāranya and Kāsi.

Living in the Gajāranya is obtained only through the practice of virtue in many births. It is not to be granted to all indifferently in this Kaliyuga.

Whoever mortifying his senses bathes in the Gajāranya during three days will obtain the merit of all alms-deeds and of all sacrifices.

I am unable to describe all the glories of this Gajāranya. Siva himself must explain the greatness of this place of pilgrimage and the merit that is obtained here.

What is the use of saying more? Here Siva the essence of all happiness will certainly render happy all those that serve him.

Whoever reads the 'Greatness of this Gajāranya' and whoever hears it will obtain all he desires and heaven in the end.

(Translated from the Sanskrit,  
by the REV. A. LOBO.)

## REVIEW

### *Ancient India by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A.*

It was suggested at a meeting of the Mythic Society about two years ago that Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar would confer a great boon on those interested in the *Ancient History of South India*, if he could see his way to collect in book form his lectures and essays, which had already appeared in several publications. Scattered, as it was in various periodicals, the vast amount of information which they contained on a period of history hitherto very little known, was not always easy of access. I am glad to see that Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has taken the suggestion into consideration and acted upon it. The result is a very well-got-up and most readable volume which will be welcomed by the members of Mythic Society as well as by all students of Indian History.

Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar already holds an honourable place among contributors to the *Early History of India* and his name would be sufficient recommendation for any new book published on that most interesting subject; at the same time I cannot help congratulating Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on his good fortune in being able to issue his *Ancient India* under the auspices of Mr. Vincent A. Smith, than whom no one is more qualified to pass a judgment, on any book bearing on *Early Indian History*.

The name of the book is, perhaps, a misnomer, as only two chapters deal with India as a whole, all the others being concerned exclusively with the south and most of them only with mediæval India. Yet, as the word 'ancient' cannot have the same meaning when applied to India as when used in connexion with Babylonia and Egypt<sup>t</sup> or even Greece and Rome, perhaps, after all, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was justified in making use of it in the title of his book.

The most important and generally interesting chapter in the book, to quote Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his valuable introduction, is the sixth, which gives an admirable

abstract of the political history of the Cholas with a detailed account of their system of government and village administration well deserving of attentive study.' But, perhaps, the chapters dealing with Mysore, its early history, Mysore under the Hoysalas and the Wodeyars, will have a special interest for a certain number of readers who, after weighing Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's evidences and arguments, will, certainly, agree with him in thinking that the *History of Mysore* has not yet been written, as neither Wilkes' *History of Mysore* nor the *Palace History* can be regarded as the last word on the subject.

In this connexion I am glad to see that Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is at one with Dr. Fleet when he states that Mahishamandala to which Asoka sent missionaries has nothing to do with Mysore, but he is, perhaps, overcautious in his reference to the Jain traditions which represent the great Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta, spending the evening of his life in contemplation at Sravanabelgola, as the legends seem to be based ultimately on a wrong reading of an inscription of the eighth century A.D.

The chapter on Vishnuvardana deserves also special notice, as it reveals to us a new aspect in the life of that great ruler of Mysore, the great change that came over him in the course of his royal career which led to his conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavism, and as in dealing with this side of the character of the famous empire-builder, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is able to give us an insight into the religious condition of Mysore at that time.

Many of the other essays now collected make valuable contributions to the history and chronology of Indian and especially of Tamil literature whose noble works which prove the high ethical and artistic value of Tamil compositions, have not, so far, attracted all the attention they deserve. Mr. S. Vincent A. Smith agrees with Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in dating the Augustan Period of Tamil literature in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.

The later chapters dealing with certain special problems chiefly concerned with *Tamil Religious History*, though of less general interest, will still repay a careful reading.

The Index to the book is very well arranged for reference purposes.

In bringing this Review to a close I make mine the hope expressed by Mr. Vincent A. Smith that, if Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar 'had leisure greater than that which official duties permit, he might, perhaps, produce that *Early History of Southern India*, which is so much wanted and can be written only by a scholar familiar with the country and one or more of the Dravidian vernaculars.'

A. M. TABARD.

#### A NOTE

#### *The Rock Caves of Badami*

THESE caves which are not so well known and less frequently visited than the Elephanta and Ellore Caves, are, nevertheless, from the point of view of the archaeologist, of very great importance. These caves, which represent: Saiva, Vaishnava, and Jain faiths, are unique in that they present the only reliable data upon which the age of the rock caves in the different parts of India can be based. There is an inscription in No. 3 cave, dated in the twelfth year of the reign of the well-known king, Kirtivarman I in the 500th year after the inauguration of the Saka kings. The date is therefore A. D. 578. This is the only cave temple of which the date is certainly known. With this fixed date it is possible, by a close comparison of the other rock caves to fix some approximate period for their excavation. Previous to the discovery of this it was

believed that the caves were made in the following sequence, first, the Buddhist, second the Brahmanical, followed by the Jain, at intervals of a considerable number of years. The great similarity that exists between the architecture of the caves forces one to the conclusion that no such intervals existed, but that in all probability these caves, representing different religions, were excavated in the same period and thus bear witness to a toleration which can scarcely be said to exist to-day. Fergusson, in his notes on the caves, makes the following statement:—

'Instead therefore, of the sequence formerly adopted, we are forced to fall back on that marvellous picture of religious toleration described by the Chinese pilgrim as exhibited at Allahabad in the year A.D. 648. On that occasion the King Harsha Siladitya distributed alms to 10,000 priests, the first day in honour of Buddha, the second of Aditya, the Sun, the third in honour of Iswara or Siya; and the eighteen kings who assisted at this splendid quinquennial festival seem promiscuously to have honoured equally these three divinities. With this toleration at head-quarters, we ought not to be surprised if we find temples of different religions overlapping one another to some extent.'

Badami, in the Bijapur District, and sixty-four miles south of the town of that name, is a place of considerable antiquity and historical interest. It is easily accessible, being only three miles from the Railway station. It lies in a ravine between two rocky hills on the north and south. Between the foot of the hills is a large reservoir. The rock caves are on the west face of the South Fort and are four in number. No. 1 a Saiva cave, Nos. 2 and 3 Vaishnavite caves, No. 4 a Jain cave. In this brief note it is not possible to describe the excellent carving of the pillars, the lively dancing girls carved on the basement, the skilful images of Vishnu in his many incarnations, etc. For a full description of these the reader is referred to the *Bijapur Gasetteer*. An interesting account is also to be found in the recently published 'Along the Line' a description of the places on the Madras and Southern Railway.

A. R. SLATER.

MEROARA,  
September, 1911.

To

THE EDITOR,  
*Mythic Society's Journal*.

SIR,

HAVING had my attention drawn of late to the numerous dolmens which are found in Coorg and, I believe, in many other parts of South India including Mysore, I venture to put a few facts and fond fancies before your readers in the hope that my action may initiate a correspondence in your journal which may throw further light on the true nature of these most interesting prehistoric remains.

These dolmens are locally known (in Canarese) as 'pandava parekallu' or 'pandava manegalu' (Stones or houses of the Pandavas) and local tradition has it that the Pandavas were a race who long ago inhabited these parts and were able, at will, to transform themselves from dwarfs to giants, or vice versa. This legend has obviously been shaped to explain how a people, so mighty as to be able to move the huge stone slabs of which the dolmens are formed, could have entered them by the small circular hole which constitutes the only entrance into a complete specimen.

I have it on good authority that a similar legend is current in Germany in respect of very similar relics.

Attention seems to have been frequently directed towards this interesting subject, but most people appear to have contented themselves with excavating one or two, lavishing an ephemeral admiration or curiosity on the pottery, etc., found therein and—possibly—sending the articles to a museum where, to all practical purposes, they are soon almost as much lost to the world as they were before their exhumation. The questions of real interest seem to come no nearer solution. Who were these Pandavas? When did they live? Have we no index to their habits and customs save the fact that they had graves, and died?

Possibly I am wronging the amateur and professional archaeologist: possibly much is known and has been succinctly recorded for the information of those who come after. If so, I shall gladly withdraw the insinuations, and doubtless in return some correspondent will afford me the information which I seek.

For the information of those who know less of the subject than myself—if there are any—I will record the results of my own crude observations.

These relics in Coorg are of two kinds—the one variety being below the ground level, and the other having its base at or about the present level of the surrounding land, thus giving the initial idea that the former were graves and the latter houses—although aware that all are held to be graves, I shall, for convenience sake, refer to them as ‘graves’ and ‘dwellings’: they are usually grouped together in considerable numbers, and there are at least two places in these parts where the number within a comparatively small radius must be between 50 and 100: both are usually high land, though this is, most noticeable in the case of the ‘dwellings’, and I have not yet noticed the two varieties side by side. The large majority appear to lie east and west, the circular aperture being towards the east, though this is *not* an invariable rule. Both are usually found in localities where the slab stones of which they are formed can still be procured within a moderate distance—within, say, half a mile.

As regards the construction there is considerable variation.

The ‘graves’ are usually single, but occasionally there is a stone partition running lengthways: four slabs generally form the sides and a fifth covers them, but I have seen one which had no side-slabs, but only a covering slab, though the shape of the dug grave below was easily discernible and the pottery was found in good order. In most cases the grave is surrounded by a circle—and a very symmetrical one—of boulders half imbedded in the ground, but this is not an invariable rule.

The ‘dwellings’ consist of four side-slabs with an overlapping top, while in place of the imbedded boulders one finds traces of a sort of compound wall of vertical slabs and, in the case of the more pretentious structures, it is clear that the slabs in front of the circular entrance have been shaped in the form of an arch.

Many of the graves have been opened from various motives—by ryots in the course of cultivation, by villagers in search for buried treasure, by contractors in search of stone, and by amateur archaeologists from more or less scientific curiosity: in all cases pottery has been found, but generally nothing else that was identifiable—probably more on account of the defective or careless manner of opening them than because there was nothing to find. The one opened by myself, which had no side-slabs, contained at the bottom of the grave towards the west, three earthenware chatties of brown pottery, such as may be seen in any village to-day, and three black pottery saucers, neither bearing any distinctive marks: the contents of the pots are still awaiting examination by any one who can offer me expert assistance in identifying their character. In this case it is to be noted that, although, judging from the absence of side-slabs, the grave was an unimportant one, it took ten coolies with crowbars to raise the covering slab.



In conclusion, I must apologize to your readers for the crude manner in which these few facts are put before them but trust that they will not thereby be deterred from communicating to us through the pages of your journal their own opinions and experiences regarding this subject.

I remain, Sir,  
Yours truly,  
L. T. HARRIS.

## MEETINGS DURING THE YEAR

*Meeting held at the Mayo Hall on July 19, 1910, with the Hon'ble  
Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.I.E., British Resident in the Chair*

THE Lecturer was Captain C. Hudson, D.S.O., I.M.S.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman remarked that Captain C. Hudson had a personal experience of the land he was to lecture upon, and that it was in Somaliland he had won his D.S.O.

The lecture was illustrated by most interesting lantern slides manipulated by Mr. F. Sell, M.A., of the Central College.

In the discussion that followed Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar explained how Somaliland was connected with India, and how a study of the land of the Somalis fell within the scope of the Mythic Society.

Major H. R. Brown, I.M.S., then kept the audience spell-bound by relating his own experiences in Somaliland.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the British Resident for the keen and practical interest he has taken in the Mythic Society.

*Meeting held at the Seshadri Memorial Hall on August 28, 1910, with the  
President of the Society in the Chair*

The Paper was 'Life in Ancient India at the time of the Jataka Stories,' by Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, B.A. (Cantab).

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman explained what the Jataka Stories were, and how they threw a great amount of light on the conditions prevailing in India at the time they were written.

A discussion followed in which Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Mr. F. J. Richards and the Rev. A. M. Tabard took part.

In thanking the lecturer, the Chairman expressed the hope that the Society would be favoured at some future time with another paper by him.

*Meeting held at the Mayo Hall on September 20, 1910, with the  
President of the Society in the Chair*

The lecturer was the Lord Bishop of Madras, and the subject of the lecture, 'Light thrown by Sacrifices to Village Deities on the Original Idea of Sacrifice.'

Before opening the proceedings of the evening, the Chairman announced, amidst hearty applause, that the Hon'ble Colonel H. Daly, British Resident, had consented to become Honorary President of the Society, and expressed the hope that he would place at the disposal of the Society his large experiences of India and of Indian subjects.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman remarked that the Lord Bishop was well known in Bangalore not only in his official capacity, but also as, perhaps, the highest authority on anything connected with village customs, village deities and village sacrifices in this part of India. All had read His Lordship's contributions to the Madras Government Museum Bulletins, and the most interesting articles on the life in the native village from the pen of the Lord Bishop, in the *Madras Diocesan Magazine*. They were then all looking forward to a most interesting lecture, and he could assure the audience that they would not be disappointed.

The Paper read by His Lordship was listened to with intense attention. After a vivid description of a village sacrifice, the Bishop seemed to favour the 'Communion' theory as explaining best the original idea of sacrifice.

In the animated discussion which followed the Rev. A. M. Tabard put forward the 'Substitution' theory, whereas Mr. F. J. Richards inclined towards the 'Renunciation' theory, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and the Rev. F. Goodwill holding for the 'Gift' theory. Several other speakers propounded other special views on the subject.

*Meeting held at the Resident's Office on November 22, 1911, with the  
President of the Society in the Chair*

The lecturer was the Rev. Arthur Slater. For over one hour the Rev. gentleman held his audience under a spell as he took them round the wonderful ruins of Vijayanagar, the City of Victory. After having given in a few words an abstract of the history of the famous Empire, Mr. Slater explained, with the help of over sixty slides exhibited by Mr. Sell, what remains of the magnificent capital which, at the time of its prosperity, was sixty miles in circumference. The pictures most of which were from photographs taken by the lecturer himself were pronounced by all to be a real work of art bringing before the eyes of the audience the marvellous temples and civil buildings erected by the emperors to embellish their capital city. In the course of his explanation the lecturer revealed himself an archæologist of no mean order, pointing out the difference in the style of the several buildings, some belonging to the Dravidian, some to the Chalukyan style and many bearing traces of Muhammadan influence. The lecture was listened to with intense attention, and those who had the privilege to be present were unanimous in pronouncing it an unqualified success.

After a few remarks by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., the Chairman, in expressing the thanks of all to the Rev. Mr. Slater, who had given them a glimpse of a wonderful land which now he felt sure many in the audience would do their best to visit, added that he and the other office-bearers of the Mythic Society could not but regret the approaching departure of the Rev. Mr. Slater from Bangalore, where he had made a friend of every one who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. They would miss his genial presence at their committee meetings, but he hoped that, in his new sphere of work, the Rev. Mr. Slater would continue to take an active interest in the Society and at no distant date would favour them with another Paper on some of the other places he had visited in the course of his excursions.

*Meeting held at the Mayo Hall on December 22, 1910, with the President  
of the Society in the Chair*

The lecturer was Mr. M. T. Narasima Iyengar, M.R.A.S., Professor of Sanskrit in the Central College, the subject of the paper being 'The Brahmanic Systems of Religion.' After a few words of introduction by the Chairman, the lecturer read a most learned paper which was frequently applauded and which lasted for about an hour and a half, explaining

the three systems of the Vedānta, as expounded by the three great reformers Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya and Madhvacharya.

Before closing the proceedings of the evening, the Chairman said that on account of the late hour he would not invite discussion but content himself with a few remarks. He knew well that in India, philosophy and religion were so much mixed up together that it was very difficult to write a paper on the one without touching on the other. Yet after having listened with rapt attention to the lecture, he would suggest that when the paper is printed, the title should be altered to 'The Brahmanaic Systems of Philosophy' as this would make it more clear to Western minds. Many had come under the impression that the lecture would be on the practical side of Brahmanism and would explain the transition between the Brahmanism of the Vedas and the present Brahmanism based more especially on the Puranas. He trusted that the learned lecturer would soon give the Society a Paper on the 'present day ordinary Brahmanism and would show that how the Indra, Agni and Varuna of the Vedas had been forced to give place to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Referring to the great reformers he added that he could not help feeling proud at the thought that Mysore, a comparatively small country, was the place where those great men whose influence was felt all over India had lived Sankaracharya at Sringeri and Ramanujacharya at Melkote and Madhvacharya at Udipi on the borders of Mysore.

*Meeting held at the Mayo Hall on February 21, 1911, with the  
President of the Society in the Chair*

The lecturer was Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., and the subject 'History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean.'

In opening the proceedings, the Chairman explained that, as Major W. G. Grey, I.A., who had promised to deal with that subject had been suddenly transferred from Bangalore, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had kindly consented to take his place.

The reading of the Paper lasted for over one hour, and as the Chairman remarked it gave a striking instance of what patient research can do in connexion with a most difficult subject.

An interesting discussion followed in which Professor N. Rudolf, Dr. G. Y. Ingram Cotton and Mr. P. Barton took part.

*Meeting held at the Mayo Hall on July 25, 1911, with the President  
of the Society in the Chair*

A Paper on the Hoysalas in Mysore and in the south contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., was read by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in the unavoidable absence of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

Before the reading of the Paper, the Chairman referred to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, as a Sanskrit and Canarese scholar of repute not only in India but also in Europe, and an epigraphist of merit and talent. He has been Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in Southern India during the past four years, and he has just been appointed to act for Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India. He has during the past two years considerably added to our knowledge of South Indian History, more especially during the earliest times. He has succeeded in unearthing a large number of Brahmi inscriptions, which show that Aryan influence was dominant in Southern India as early as the fourth century B.C., if not earlier.

The lecture dealt with the history of the Hoysalas from its founder Sala to the absorption of the Hoysala kingdom into the newly founded Vijayanagar empire and was listened to with great interest.

Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar explained in a very lucid manner with the help of a map of Southern India the growth of the Hoysala empire and its struggles for supremacy with the Chalukyas, the Cholas and other chieftains of the South. Mr. F. J. Richards then gave an account of his discovery of Kundani in the Salem District which seems to have a better claim than Kundana in the Devanhalli Taluk to have been the capital of Vira Ramanatha who ruled over the Tamilian part of the Hoysala Kingdom.

# THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

## RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.  
Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on or before July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at 12 annas per copy to non-members.
7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.
8. Excursions to places of Historical interest, will be arranged and intimated to members.
9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in March.
11. Framing and alteration of Rules rests entirely with the Committee.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, }  
F. J. RICHARDS, } *Joint Secretaries.*

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